

THE
WORKS
OF
TACITUS.
WITH
POLITICAL DISCOURSES
UPON THAT
AUTHOR,

BY
THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

The THIRD EDITION corrected.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for T. and T. LONGMAN, C. HITCH
and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR, R. DODSLEY,
J. and J. RIVINGTON, and M. COOPER.

MDCCCLIII.

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THOMAS GORDON
WITH
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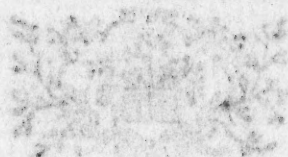


THOMAS GORDON, ESQ.

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VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for T. and T. Longman, C. Nisbet
and J. H. and A. Millar, R. Dodsley,
J. and J. Richardson and M. Cochrane.
MDCCCIII.

TO
The Right Honourable

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR,

AS you were the first who promoted the following Work in a public manner, I take liberty to present it to the Public under your name, and to do an act of acknowledgment for one of generosity. Be pleased to be the Patron of a Book which under your Patronage was composed. It is natural and

iv DEDICATION.

common for men who profess Letters, to seek the countenance and protection of Men of Power; and from such of them as to greatness of fortune were happy enough to join greatness of mind, they have not sought in vain.

POWER without Politeness and Complacency, is at best distasteful, often hated; amiable when it knows how to condescend. It is thus that men in high stations avoid envy from such as stand below them. He who cannot rise to their height, finds a sort of retaliation and amends in their coming down to him. No man is pleased with a behaviour which represents him as contemptible. To make us think well of ourselves, by another's shewing us that we are well thought of by him, is a generous and artful civility: a lesson which stately and rebuking men want to learn. A mean man of great quality and figure (for such incongruities we often meet) teaches others to scorn him, by his shewing



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ing that he scorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good sense, which will always guard it from exceeding, is the art of keeping great Splendor from growing offensive to the rest of the world.

IT must be owned, that no Affability, even the most flowing; no Genius, even the most elevated, can escape particular distastes; and from the dislike of Persons to that of Actions the transition is easy and too common. Men do not easily discern good qualities and intentions in one, to whom they do not wish well. All men, even those of the most unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their judgment over-hastily, when their passions are warmed: and from this cause it has often proceeded, that the inevitable misfortunes of times and accidents have been charged upon such, whose interest and study it was to prevent them. This is one of the evils

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and uneasinesses inseparably attending every Administration. When a State is under heavy burdens and difficulties, the means to relieve and support it will be, almost always, proportionably heavy: and as whatever proves heavy, however necessary, is easily called Oppression; so the hand, which administers a remedy, may, merely because it is felt, be easily stiled oppressive.

BESIDES the reason which I have already given for this Address, I have another; one taken from the Character of my Author. As he was a Man of Affairs, a great Minister, I chuse to present him to another: to one who having been long engaged in public Life, having had long experience of men, seen far into their bent and foibles, and been conversant with the mysteries and primary operations of Government; can thence readily judge whether Tacitus has refined too much in his Politics, or
been

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been over-severe in his Censures upon mankind: or whether this charge has not been chiefly raised by men of speculation, who, however furnished with Learning, were yet unacquainted with the transactions of States, and ignorant of human nature; or perhaps willing to do honour to it, or to themselves, at the expence of Truth. Men are to be known, not by Theories taken up in closets, but by Commerce with men; and best of all in those great scenes of public Life, where You, Sir, have sustained, for so many years, a high and important part, and gained eminent experience as well as the just opinion of great sufficiency.

I could here, agreeably to the usual style and purpose of Dedications, say a great many advantageous things, without risking the usual censure incurred by Dedicators. But such things I would much rather say of you, than to you.

viii DEDICATION.

In this place, I shall only profess to be,
what I intirely am, with perfect truth,
and high regard,

S I R,

Your most obliged, and most

obedient humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

R E A D E R.

I HAVE carefully corrected this Second Edition of my Translation of Tacitus, and made several Alterations in it ; not in the Sense, about which I am not conscious that I have committed any mistakes, as far as I am capable of judging, but in the manner of Expression in particular places, and for the sake of Sound, or of greater Clearness, though I never yet heard that Men of competent discernment and candour complained of any obscurity in the whole Work ; and no language whatever will make Tacitus plain to vulgar understandings, whether they be learned or unlearned. It is therefore without any regard to such that I have made any Alterations ; but merely from my own opinion and taste upon many careful reviews, and where I thought I could, without departing from the force, conciseness, and manner of the Original, make some Phrases more suitable to an English ear.

I have

x A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

I have indeed little complaisance for those who think (if any who understand him can possibly think) that the common English Stile will at all suit that uncommon Writer, whose Manner is as peculiar and as affecting as his Thoughts. His Sentences are like Proverbs, short, lively, and self-evident. Are Proverbs, upon Subjects of great Dignity, usually expressed in the ordinary strain? Are they not therefore the more pathetic, and the more easily remembered, because they are couched in a particular manner, turned something like Poetry, and sometimes in antiquated words? Why is the language of the Book of Job and of Isaiah the Prophet, so much admired? Why is that of the Proverbs of Solomon; why that of the Wisdom of the Son of Syrach so much applauded, but that the beautiful manner, and turn, and vivacity, as well as the meaning of the Original, are well imitated and preserved? Would they not, many of them at least, be strangely transfigured, and all their spirit lost, in the stile of Dr. Tillotson, though very fine and flowing; or in that of Dr. Burnet, late Master of the Charter-house, so very noble and pleasing? I will venture to say, that I have not expressed one Phrase in the whole Translation, more remotely from the common way than many of those Proverbs and Sayings are expressed; and tho' they be so expressed, no body ever called them stiff, affected, or obscure?

I could

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I could mention some of the greatest Men of this Age, who, convinced by such Reasons, and having a perfect taste of Tacitus, that is, understanding him as a Statesman as well as a Writer, were utterly against my making any Alterations at all in my manner of translating him. It is indeed such Judges and Readers as these, that I am chiefly solicitous to please, utterly unmoved (otherwise than to sincere compassion) by folly, and anger, and railing, under the name of Criticism. Ignorance and ill-nature, as they are real misfortunes, deserve pity; so does self-conceit, and peevishness, and railing; and I would much rather bear bitterness, and rancour, and spiteful usage, than find myself capable of returning them.

I have all reason to be well satisfied with the reception which the following Work hath found from the Public, as a Book so large and dear was taken off so soon; for the Second Volume was not published by Subscription; and a new Edition would have been wanted much sooner, had there not been another printed in Ireland, and many of that Edition sold in England; and had not the Discourses been translated and retailed, as they have been twice, in the French Journals abroad and at home, with such a character and commendations as would not become me to repeat.

The

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The Reader will forgive me, if I put him in mind, that the manner of Expression, which some have objected to in this Translation, for being somewhat uncommon, occurs but here and there, where the Maxims and Reflections of Tacitus, especially in his Speeches, seemed to me to require it. Sometimes, and often for pages together, there is little or no variation from the usual method of ranging words; as may be plainly seen in the narrative parts of the Work, more particularly in the History and two subsequent Treatises, where the Style every where differs more or less, from that of the Annals. But this is what small Censurers do not, perhaps cannot, observe, however obvious it be. Some of them have ventured to find fault without ever reading the Translation, or being capable of reading the Original. Such Censurers are always the most common, most forward, most bitter and clamorous, such as even the best Writers never escaped, and such as even the worst have no cause to fear. Spiteful, foolish, and lying censures seldom live above a day, nor can the pains taken to revive and retail them, extend their existence much longer.

Neglect is the best answer to what nothing but an answer can keep alive, I mean miserable pedantry and cavilling, virulence and falsification; Treatment, which the most
unex-

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unexceptionable Writings generally meet with from narrow and envious minds, whose rule and practice it is to be angry in proportion as the most candid and discerning are pleased: An unhappy Spirit! which thus punishes and tortures itself for its own rancour and defects, and which therefore from my soul I pity, as much as from ~~my~~ soul I honour an opposite spirit, guided by reason and humanity, and every amiable quality.

Authors, who, as they write to all the world, stand exposed to the mercy and severity of every one in it, must have as little sense as satisfaction, were they to feel or even to mind what every ignorant, conceited, or malignant Reader says of them: For, every Reader will be apt to offer his Sentiments; and as judgment, good-nature and candour, are qualities, I doubt, not found in the majority, at least in such abundant measure as folly, bitterness and envy, it is great odds but he who writes is misrepresented and reviled, especially if his Writings be esteemed and commended. I never yet knew any Work well received, which was not likewise traduced, nor Cavillers wanting to carp at what the ablest Judges had approved.

That man can never be happy, whose temper is at the mercy others, that is, liable to be ruffled by them, as I have found it somewhere

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where observed, I think by Mr. de Wit; and it is pursuing our true interest, as well as it is true wisdom, calmly to bear rancour and obloquy. Balsac, who says, ' That the ' Libels written against him, were enough ' to make a small Library,' scorned to suppress them when he might; ' but took delight to see the number increase, and a ' heap raised from the many stones cast at ' him.' Mr. Addison, who quotes this, says, ' That he admired an Author for such ' a temper of mind as enables him to bear ' undeserved reproach without Resentment; ' more than for all the Wit of any the finest ' satirical Reply.'

In translating Tacitus, an Author so singular for Wisdom and Energy, I studied to convey his Sense fully and clearly, and as near his manner as the different Idioms of Latin and English would let me; and I have the pleasure to find my Translation approved by many of the greatest Men living, for Knowledge and Dignity. It is impossible, in any Work, to please all, though all who can read will pretend to judge; and as such who make the foolishhest and falsest judgment, are not therefore the less fond of it, the best Writings will meet with many fault-finders. The truly judicious and wise, a character which also implies temper and candor, as well as civility, will readily consider and own the difficulties of the Work, where any at-

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tend it, and their Approbation, when they give it, carries with it a condemnation and prohibition of all trifling, absurd, and passionate censurers, at least brands and disables them.

As to the inverting and transposing of Words, blamed by some in this Translation (chiefly by Dealers in Words) it is so natural, and therefore so usual in all pathetic Writing and Speaking, that it is to be found, sometimes frequently, in all our ablest Writers, and best Orators; in Mr. Hobbes, and Sir Walter Raleigh (two Authors, whose Stile, like their Genius, is so clear and strong) in Mr. Dryden, (whose Prose is as beautiful as his Poetry) Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Atterbury, Lord Clarendon, the famous Earl of Strafford, and many others, who in their Writings and Speeches fall often into such Transpositions---‘To your Majesty it is well known.---To the willing no injury is done.---A war there must be.---From the two principal parts of man, reason and passion, there ariseth, &c.---Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House, &c.---Just would be your Lordships most severe censure, &c.---Hard is my fate, &c.’

From these and a thousand other instances of the like sort, it will be obvious to every intelligent and candid Reader, how usual such Transposition is, and that it is grown as familiar

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familiar as the contrary way of speaking and writing, especially where the matter is very grave and intended to affect, and where the Sentences are short, and the Sense close. How often it is to recur, no rule can be fixed; in it therefore the Writer or Speaker must be directed by his Judgment, his Ear, and the Subject. Whenever it occurs naturally, as sometimes it certainly does, it would be Affectation, or want of Taste, to omit it: That the Sublime arises from the Manner as well as from the Matter, is, I think, not to be denied.

When I publish my Translation of Sallust, which I have done in a different manner from that of Tacitus, because their manner is different, I shall perhaps offer some more Observations upon Style, which I find is far from being generally understood, though so many pretend to be judges of it.

THE

THE ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.
BOOK I.

The SUMMARY.

Enumeration of the several changes in the Government of Rome. The State of Rome under Augustus; his politicks, death and character; with the arts and dissimulation of Tiberius. Revolt of the Legions in Pannonia, and in Germany; the Conduct of Germanicus upon that occasion, and also against the common enemy, with his success and victories. The death and character of Julia, daughter of Augustus: Plays instituted in his honour. Germanicus makes another expedition against the German nations, and subdues them; frees Segestes from the violence of Arminius, and is for his exploits saluted Imperator; continues the war in Germany, recovers and buries the remains of Varus's Legions. The difficulties which beset Cæcina in his march, with his bravery and success in overcoming them. The law of violated Majesty, greatly extended and severely executed.

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B

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An Inundation from the Tiber. Licentiousness of the Theatres, and the insolence of Players, checked by a Decree of Senate. Measures proposed for restraining the overflowing of the Tiber, but opposed by several Communities of Italy. Tiberius seldom changes the Governors of Provinces, and why. His dark and crafty conduct upon the Election of Magistrates at Rome.

KINGS were the original Magistrates of Rome. Lucius Brutus founded Liberty and the Consulship. Dictators were chosen only in pressing exigencies. Little more than two years prevailed the supreme power of the Decemvirate; and the consular jurisdiction of the military Tribunes, not very many. The domination of Cinna was but short; that of Sylla not long. The authority of Pompey and Crassus was quickly swallowed up in Cæsar; that of Lepidus and Anthony in Augustus. The Commonwealth, then long distressed and exhausted by civil dissensions, fell easily into his hands, and over her he assumed sovereign dominion, softened with the popular title of *Prince of the Senate*. But the several revolutions in the ancient free state of Rome, and all her happy or disastrous events, are already recorded by Writers of signal renown. Nor, even in the reign of Augustus, were there wanting authors of distinction and genius to have composed his story, till by the prevailing spirit of flattery and abasement, they were checked. As to the succeeding Princes, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero; the dread of their tyranny, whilst they yet reigned, falsified their history; and after their fall, the fresh detestation of their cruelties inflamed their Historians. Hence my own design of recounting briefly certain incidents in the reign of Augustus, chiefly towards his latter end, and of entering afterwards more fully into

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into that of Tiberius and the other three, unbiaſſed by any reſentment, or any affection, the influences of ſuch perſonal paſſions being far from me.

When after the fall of Brutus and Caſſius there remained none to fight for the Common-wealth, and her arms were no longer in her own hands; when Sextus Pompeius was utterly defeated in Sicily, Lepidus bereſt of his command, Mark Anthony ſlain; and of all the chiefs of the late Dictator's party, only Octavius his nephew was left; he put off the invidious name of Triumvir, and ſtiling himſelf Conſul, pretended that the juriſdiction attached to the Tribuneſhip was his higheſt aim, as in it the protection of the populace was his only view. But when once he had ſecured the Soldiery by liberality and donations, gained the People by ſtore of proviſions, and charmed all by the bleſſings and ſweetneſs of publick peace, he began by politick gradations to exalt himſelf, and with his own power to conſolidate the authority of the Senate, juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate, and weight and force of the Laws; uſurpations, in which he was thwarted by no man; all the moſt determined Republicans had fallen in battle, or by the late ſanguinary Proſcriptions; and for the ſurviving Nobility, they were covered with wealth, and diſtinguiſhed with publick honours, according to the meaſure of their debaſement, and promptneſs to bondage. Add, that all who in the loſs of publick freedom had gained private fortunes, preferred a ſervile condition, ſafe and poſſeſſed, to the revival of ancient Liberty with perſonal peril. Neither were the Provinces averſe to the preſent Revolution; ſince, under the Government of the People and Senate, they had lived in conſtant fear and miſtruſt, from the raging competition amongſt our Grandees, as well as from the rapine and exactions of our Magiſtrates. In vain too had been their appeal to the

Laws, which were utterly enfeebled and borne down by violence, by parties; nay, even by subornation and money.

Moreover, Augustus, to fortify his domination with collateral bulwarks, raised his sister's son Claudius Marcellus, a perfect youth, to the dignity of Pontiff and that of Edile; preferred Marcus Agrippa to two successive Consulships, a man in truth meanly born, but an accomplished soldier, and the companion of his victories; and (Marcellus, the husband of Julia, soon after dying) chose him for his son-in-law. Even the sons of his wife, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, he dignified with high military titles and commands; though his house was yet supported by descendants of his own blood. For into the Julian family and name of the Cæsars he had already adopted Lucius and Caius, the sons of Agrippa; and though they were but children, neither of them seventeen years old, vehement had been his ambition to see them declared Princes of the Roman Youth, and even designed to the Consulship; while openly he was protesting against admitting these early honours. Presently upon the decease of Agrippa, were these his children snatched away, either by their own natural, but hasty fate, or by the deadly fraud of their step-mother Livia; Lucius on his journey to command the armies in Spain, Caius in his return from Armenia, ill of a wound. And as Drusus, one of her own sons, had been long since dead, Tiberius remained sole candidate for the succession. Upon this object centered all princely honours; he was by Augustus adopted for his son, assumed Collegue in the Empire, partner in the jurisdiction tribunitial, and presented under all these dignities to the several armies; instances of grandeur which were no longer derived from the secret schemes of his mother, as in times past, while her husband had

had unexceptionable heirs of his own, but thenceforth bestowed at her open suit. For as Augustus was now very aged, she had obtained over him such absolute sway, that for her pleasure he banished into the Isle of Planasia his only surviving grandson Agrippa Postumus, destitute, in truth, of laudable accomplishments, in his temper untractable, and stupidly conceited of his mighty strength, but branded with no misdemeanour or transgression. The Emperor had withal set Germanicus, the son of Drusus, over eight legions quartered upon the Rhine, and obliged Tiberius to adopt him, though Tiberius had then a son of his own, one of competent years. But it was the study of Augustus, to secure himself and the succession by variety of stays and engraftments. War at that time there was none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to abolish the disgrace sustained by Quintilius Varus, there slain with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the Empire, or for any other valuable advantage. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. To the Magistrates remained their wonted names; of the Romans the younger sort had been born since the battle of Actium, and even most of the old during the civil wars: How few were then living who had seen the ancient free state!

The frame and œconomy of Rome being thus totally overturned, amongst the Romans were no longer found any traces of their primitive spirit, or attachment to the virtuous institutions of antiquity. But as the equality of the whole was extinguished by the sovereignty of one, all men regarded the orders of the Prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience; nor felt they any anxiety, while Augustus yet retained vigour of life, and upheld the credit of his administration with publick peace, and the imperial fortune of his house. But when he became broken with age and infirmities; when his

end was at hand, and thence a new source of hopes and views was presented, some few there were who began to reason idly about the blessings and recovery of Liberty; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one; while far the greatest part were uttering their several apprehensions of their future masters; “that naturally stern and savage was the temper of Agrippa, and by his publick contumely enraged into fury; and neither in age nor experience was he equal to the weight of Empire. Tiberius indeed had arrived at fulness of years, and was a distinguished captain, but possessed the inveterate pride entailed upon the Claudian race; and many indications of a cruel nature escaped him, in spite of all his arts to disguise it; besides that from his early infancy he was trained up in a reigning house, and even in his youth inured to an accumulation of power and honours, consulships and triumphs. Nor during the several years of his abode at Rhodes, where, under the plausible name of retirement, a real banishment was covered, did he exercise other occupation than that of meditating future vengeance, studying the arts of treachery, and practising secret and abominable sensualities. Add to these considerations, that of his mother, a woman inspired with all the tyranny of her sex; that the Romans must be under bondage to a woman, and moreover enthralled by two youths, who would first combine to oppress the State, then falling into dissension, rend it piece-meal.”

While the Publick was engaged in these and the like debates, the illness of Augustus daily increased, and some strongly suspected the pestilent practices of his wife. For there had been, some months before, a rumour abroad, That Augustus, having singled out a few of his most faithful servants, and taken Fabius Maximus for his only companion, had
failed

failed secretly over to the Island of Planasia, there to visit his Grandson Agrippa; that many tears were shed on both sides, many tokens of mutual tenderness shewn, and hopes from thence conceived, that the unhappy youth would be restored to his own place in his Grandfather's family: That Maximus had disclosed it to Martia, she to Livia; and thence the Emperor knew that the secret was betrayed: That Maximus being soon after dead (dead, as it was doubted, through fear, by his own hands) Martia was observed, in her lamentations and groans at his funeral, to accuse herself as the sad cause of her husband's destruction. Whatever truth was in all this, Tiberius was scarce entered Illyricum but he was hastily recalled by his mother's letters. Nor is it fully known whether, at his return to Nola, he found Augustus yet breathing, or already breathless. For Livia had carefully beset the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards; and good news of his recovery were from time to time given out. When she had taken all measures necessary in so great a conjuncture, in one and the same moment was published the departure of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius.

The first feat of this new reign was the murder of young Agrippa. The assassin, a bold and determined Centurion, found him destitute of arms, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet was scarce able to dispatch him. Of this transaction Tiberius avoided any mention in the Senate. He would have it pass for done by the commands of Augustus; as if he had transmitted written orders to the Tribune who guarded Agrippa, "to slay him the instant he heard of his Grandfather's decease." It is very true, that Augustus had made many and vehement complaints of the young man's obstinate and unruly demeanour, and even solicited

from the Senate a Decree to authorize his banishment; but he had never hardened himself against the sentiments of nature, nor in any instance dip his hands in his own blood; neither is it credible that he would sacrifice the life of his grandson for the security and establishment of his person. More probable it is, that this hasty murder was purely the work of Tiberius and Livia; that the young prince, hated and dreaded by both, fell thus untimely, to rid the one of his apprehensions and a rival, and to satiate in the other the rancorous spirit of a step-mother. When the Centurion, according to the custom of the army, acquainted Tiberius, "that his commands were executed;" he answered, "he had commanded no such execution, and the Centurion must appear before the Senate, and for it be answerable to them." This alarmed Sallustius Crispus, who shared in all his secret counsels, and had sent the Centurion the warrant; he dreaded that he should be arraigned for the assassination, and knew it equally perilous either to confess the truth, and charge the Emperor; or falsely to clear the Emperor, and accuse himself. Hence he had recourse to Livia, and warned her, "never to divulge the secrets of the palace, never to expose to publick examination the ministers who advised, nor the soldiers who executed. Tiberius should beware of relaxing the Authority of the Prince, by referring all things to that of the Senate; since it was the indispensable Prerogative of Sovereignty, for all men to be accountable to one."

Now at Rome, Consuls, Senators, and Roman Knights, were all rushing with emulation into bondage; the higher the quality of each, the more false and forward the men; all careful so to frame their faces, as to reconcile false joy for the accession of Tiberius, with feigned sadness for the loss of Augustus.

gustus. Hence they intermingled tears with gladness, wailings with gratulations, and all with servile flattery. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, at that time Consuls, took first the oath of fidelity to Tiberius, then administered it to Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius, the former Captain of the Pretorian Guards, the other Intendant of the public stores. The oath was next given to the Senate, to the People, and to the Soldiery, all by the same Consuls. For Tiberius affected to derive all publick transactions from the legal ministry of the Consuls; as if the ancient Republick still subsisted, and he were yet unresolved about embracing the sovereign rule. He even owned in his Edict for summoning the Senate, that he issued it by virtue of the Tribunitial power, granted him under Augustus. The Edict too was short, and unexceptionably modest. It imported, that, "they were to consider of the funeral honours proper to be paid his deceased Father; for himself he would not depart from the corps; and further than this edict implied, he claimed no share in the public administration." Yet from the moment Augustus was dead, he usurped all the prerogatives of imperial State, gave the word to the Pretorian Cohorts, had soldiers about the palace, guards about his person, went guarded in the Street, guarded to the Senate, and bore all the marks of Majesty. Nay, he writ Letters to the several Armies in the undisguised style of one already their Prince; nor did he ever hesitate or speak with ambiguity about it, but when he spoke to the Senate. The chief cause of his reserve and obscurity there proceeded from his fear of Germanicus. He dreaded that he, who was master of so many Legions of numberless Auxiliaries, and of all the Allies of Rome; he, who was the darling of the people, might wish rather to possess the Empire, than to wait for it. He like-

wife aimed at false glory, and would rather seem by the Commonwealth chosen and called to the Empire, than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a woman, or by adoption from a superannuated Prince. It was also afterwards found, that, by this abstruseness and counterfeit irresolution, he meant to penetrate into the designs and inclinations of the great men; for his jealous spirit construed all their words, all their looks, into crimes, and stored them up in his heart against a day of vengeance.

When he first met the Senate, he would bear no other business to be transacted but that about the Funerals of Augustus. His last will was brought in by the Vestal Virgins; in it Tiberius and Livia were appointed his heirs, Livia adopted into the Julian Family, and dignified with the name of Augusta. Into the next and second degree of heirship he adopted his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he named the great men of Rome, most of them hated by him; but out of vain-glory he named them, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the usual bounds; only he left to the Roman people four hundred thousand great Sesterces ^a; to the Populace or common sort, thirty-five thousand ^b; to every common Soldier of the Pretorian Guards a thousand small Sesterces ^c, and to every Soldier of the Roman Legions three hundred ^d. The funeral Honours were next considered. The chief presented were these; Asinius Gallus proposed, that "the Funeral should pass through the Triumphal gate;" Lucius Aruntius, "that the Titles of all the Laws which

^a About a Million of Crowns. ^b About eighty-seven thousand five hundred Crowns. ^c About twenty-five Crowns. ^d About seven Crowns and a half.

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“ he had made, and the names of all the Nations
“ which he had conquered, should be carried be-
“ fore the corps ;” Valerius Messala added, “ that
“ the Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius should be
“ renewed every Year ;” and being asked by Ti-
berius, “ whether at his instigation he had made
“ that motion ? I spoke it as my opinion, says Mes-
“ sala ; nor will I ever be determined by any but
“ my own, in things which concern the Common-
“ weal ; let who will be provoked by my freedom.”
Only this new turn was wanting to compleat the
prevailing flattery of the time. The Senators then
concurred in a loud cry, “ that upon their own
“ shoulders they must bear the body to the pile.”
But Tiberius declined the offer from an arrogant
shew of moderation. Moreover he cautioned the
people by an Edict, “ not to disturb the funeral
“ functions with a zeal over-passionate, as they
“ had those of Julius Cæsar ; nor to insist that the
“ Corps of Augustus should be burnt rather in the
“ Forum, than in the field of Mars, which was
“ the place appointed.” On the funeral day the
Soldiers under arms kept guard ; a mighty mockery
to those who had either seen, or heard their fathers
describe, the day when Cæsar the Dictator was
slain. Servitude was then new, its sorrows yet
fresh and bitter ; and liberty unsuccessfully retrieved
by a deed, which, while it seemed impious to some,
was thought altogether glorious by others, and
hence tore Rome into tumults, and the violence of
parties. They ridiculed the Grimace of “ calling
“ an aid of soldiers to secure a peaceable burial to
“ a prince, who had grown old in peace and power,
“ and even provided against a relapse into liberty,
“ by a long train of successors.”

Hence much and various matter of observation
concerning Augustus. The superstitious multitude
admired the fortuitous events of his fortune ; “ that

“ the last day of his life, and the first of his reign,
“ was the same ; that he died at Nola, in the same
“ village, in the same house, and in the same
“ chamber, where his father Octavius died. They
“ observed to his glory, his many Consulships,
“ equal in number to those of Valerius Corvinus
“ and of Caius Marius, joined together : that he
“ had exercised the power of the Tribuneship
“ seven and thirty years without interruption : that
“ he was one and twenty times proclaimed *Impe-*
“ *rator* ; with many other numerous honours re-
“ peated to him, or created for him.” Men of
deeper discernment entered further into his Life,
but differed about it. His admirers said, that
“ his filial piety to his father Cæsar, and the dis-
“ tractions of the Republick, where the laws no
“ longer governed, had driven him into a civil
“ war ; which, whatever be the first cause, can
“ never be begun or carried on by just and gentle
“ means. Indeed, to be revenged on the murderers
“ of his father, he had made many great sacrifices
“ to Anthony ; many to Lepidus. But when Lepidus
“ was become sunk and superannuated in sloth ;
“ when Anthony was lost headlong in sensuality,
“ there was then no other remedy for the distracted
“ State, rent piece-meal by its chiefs, but the So-
“ vereignty of one. Augustus, however, never
“ had assumed to rule over his Country as King,
“ or Dictator ; but settled the Government under
“ the legal name of *Prince of the Senate*. He had
“ extended the Empire, and set for its bounds the
“ distant Ocean, and rivers far remote ; the se-
“ veral parts and forces of the State, the Legions,
“ the Provinces, the Navy, were all properly ba-
“ lanced and connected ; the Citizens lived duti-
“ fully under the protection of the law, the Allies
“ in terms of respect, and Rome itself was adorned
“ with Magnificent structures. Indeed in a few
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" instances, he had exerted the arbitrary violence
" of power; and in but a few, only to secure the
" peace of the whole."
In answer to all this it was urged, that " his
" filial piety, and the unhappy situation of the Re-
" public, were pure pretences; but the ardent lust
" of reigning, his true and only motive; with this
" spirit he had solicited into his service, by bribery,
" a body of veteran soldiers; and, though a pri-
" vate youth, levied an Army. With this spirit
" he had debauched, and bought the Roman Ee-
" gions under the Consuls, while he was falsely
" feigning a coalition with Pompey's republican
" party; that soon after, when he had procured
" from the Senate, or rather usurped the honours
" and authority of the Pretorship; and when Hir-
" tius and Pansa, the two Consuls, were slain, he
" seized both their Armies; that it was doubted
" whether the Consuls fell by the enemy, or
" whether Pansa was not killed by pouring poison
" into his wounds, and Hirtius slain by his own
" soldiers; and whether the young Cæsar was not
" the contriver of this bloody treason; that by ter-
" ror he had extorted the Consulship in spite of the
" Senate; and turned against the Commonwealth
" the very arms with which the Commonwealth
" had trusted him for her defence against Anthony.
" Add to all this his cruel Proscriptions, and the
" Massacre of so many citizens; his seizing from
" the public, and distributing to his own creatures,
" so many lands and possessions; a violation of
" property not justified even by those who gained
" by it. But, allowing him to dedicate to the
" Manes of the Dictator the Lives of Brutus and
" Cassius (though more to his honour, had
" it been to have postponed his own personal hate
" to publick good,) did he not betray the young
" Pompey by an insidious peace, betray Lepidus
" by

“ by a deceitful shew of friendship? Did he not
“ next ensnare Mark Anthony, first by Treaties,
“ those of Tarentum and Brundisium; then by a
“ Marriage, that of his sister Octavia? And did
“ not Anthony, at last, pay with his life the penalty
“ of that subdolous alliance? After this, no doubt
“ there was Peace, but a bloody Peace; bloody
“ in the tragical defeat of Lollius, and that of
“ Varus, in Germany; and at Rome, the Var-
“ rones, the Egnatii, the Julii, (illustrious names!)
“ were put to death.” Nor was his domestic life
spared upon this occasion. “ He had arbitrarily
“ robbed Nero of his wife big with child by her
“ husband; and mocked the Gods by consulting
“ the Priests, whether Religion permitted him to
“ marry her before her delivery, or obliged him
“ to stay till after. His minions, Tedijs, and
“ Vedius Pollio, had lived in scandalous and ex-
“ cessive luxury; his Wife Livia, who wholly
“ controuled him, had proved a cruel governess
“ to the Commonwealth, and to the Julian house
“ a more cruel step-mother. He had even in-
“ vaded the incommunicable honours of the Gods,
“ and, setting up for himself Temples like theirs,
“ would, like them, be adored in the image of a
“ Deity, with all the sacred solemnity of Priests
“ and Sacrifices. Nor had he adopted Tiberius for
“ his successor, either out of affection for him, or
“ from concern for the publick welfare; but having
“ discovered in him a spirit proud and cruel, he
“ sought future glory from the blackest opposition
“ and comparison.” For, Augustus, when, a
few years before, he solicited the Senate to grant
to Tiberius another term of the authority of the
Tribuneship, though he mentioned him with ho-
nour, yet taking notice of his odd humour, beha-
viour, and manners, dropt some expressions, which,
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while they seemed to excuse him, exposed and upbraided him.

As soon as the funeral of Augustus was over, a Temple and divine worship were forthwith decreed him. The Senate then turned the irsupplications to Tiberius, to fill his vacant place ; but received an abstruse answer, touching the greatness of the Empire, and his own distrust of himself. He said, that “ nothing but the divine genius of Augustus “ was equal to the mighty task ; for himself, who “ had been called by him into a participation of his “ cares, he had learnt by feeling them, what a “ daring, what a difficult toil was that of Govern- “ ment, and how perpetually subject to the ca- “ prices of fortune ; that in a State supported by “ so many illustrious Patriots, they ought not to “ cast the whole administration upon one ; and “ more easy to be administered were the several “ offices of the Government by the united pains and “ sufficiency of many.” A Speech much more specious and sounding than cordial and sincere. Tiberius, even upon subjects which needed no disguises, used words dark and cautious ; perhaps from his diffident nature, perhaps from a habit of dissembling. At this juncture indeed, as he laboured wholly to hide his heart, his language was the more carefully wrapt up in equivoques and obscurity. But the Senators, who dreaded nothing so much as to seem to understand him, burst into tears, complaints and vows. With extended arms they supplicated the Gods, invoked the image of Augustus, and embraced the knees of Tiberius. He then commanded the imperial Register to be produced and recited. It contained a summary of the strength and income of the Empire, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the several Kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their re-
venues,

venues, with the state of the public expence, the issues of the exchequer, and all the demands upon the public. This Register was all written by the hand of Augustus; and in it he had subjoined his counsel to posterity, that the present boundaries of the Empire should stand fixed without further enlargement. Whether this counsel was dictated by fear for the public, or by envy towards his successors, is uncertain.

Now when the Senate was stooping to the vilest importunity and prostrations, Tiberius happened to say, that, "as he was unequal to the weight of the whole government, so if they entrusted him with any particular part, whatever it were, he would undertake it." Here Asinius Gallus interposed. "I beg to know, Cæsar, says he, what part of the government you desire for your share?" He was astonished with the unexpected question, and, for a short space, mute; but recovering himself, answered, that "it ill became his modesty to chuse or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired rather to be excused from the whole." Gallus, who from his looks inferred deep displeasure, again accosted him, and said, "By this question I did not mean that you should share that power, which cannot be separated; but to reason you into a confession, that the Commonwealth, is but one body, and can be governed only by one soul." He added an encomium upon Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and nobly sustained. Nor even thus could he mollify the wrath of Tiberius, who had long hated him, for that Gallus had married Vipfania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, formerly wife to Tiberius, who thence suspected that he meant to soar above the rank of a subject, and

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possessed too the bold and haughty spirit of Asinius Pollio his father.

Lucius Arruntius incurred his displeasure next, by a speech not much unlike that of Gallus. It is true, that towards him Tiberius bore no old rancour; but Arruntius had mighty opulence, prompt parts, noble accomplishments, with equal popularity and renown; and hence was marked by him with a fell eye of suspicion. For, as Augustus, shortly before his disease, was mentioning those among the great men, who were capable of the supreme power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wished for it; or such as had both ambition and sufficiency; he had said, that "Marcus Lepidus was qualified, but would reject it; Asinius would be aspiring, but had inferior talents, and that Lucius Arruntius wanted no sufficiency, and, upon a proper occasion, would attempt it." That he spoke thus of Lepidus and Asinius, is agreed; but, instead of Arruntius, some writers have transmitted the name of Cneius Piso: and every one of these great men, except Lepidus, were afterwards cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, all darkly framed by Tiberius. Quintus Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus did also incense his distrustful spirit, the first by asking him, "How long, Cæsar, wilt thou suffer the Commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?" Scaurus, because he had said, "There was room to hope that the prayers of the Senate would not prove abortive, since he had not interposed the Tribunitial power, and thence obstructed the motion of the Consuls in his behalf." With Haterius he fell into instant rage. Towards Scaurus his resentment was more deep and implacable, and in profound silence he hid it. Wearied at last with public importunity and clamour, and with particular expostulations, he began to unbend a little;

a little; not that he would own his undertaking the Empire, but only avoid the uneasiness of perpetual solicitations and refusals. It is certain, that Haterius, when he went next day to the Palace to implore pardon, and throwing himself at the feet of Tiberius embraced his knees, narrowly escaped being slain by the soldiers, because Tiberius, who was walking, tumbled down, whether by chance, or whether his legs were entangled in the arms of Haterius. Neither was he a jot mollified by the danger which threatened so great a man, who was at length forced to supplicate Augusta for protection; nor could even she obtain it, but after the most laboured entreaties.

Towards Livia likewise exorbitant was the flattering court of the Senate. Some were for decreeing her the general title of Mother; others the more particular one of *Mother of her Country*; and almost all proposed, that to the name of Tiberius should be added, *The son of Julia*. Tiberius urged in answer, that “public honours to women” ought to be adjudged with asparing hand; and “that with the same measure of moderation he” would receive such as were presented to himself.” In truth, from envy and solicitude, lest his own grandeur should sink as that of his mother rose, he would not suffer so much as a Licitor to be decreed her, and even forbade the raising her an Altar upon her late adoption, or paying her any such solemnities. Yet, for Germanicus he asked the Proconsular power; and, to carry him that dignity, honourable deputies were sent, as also to mollify his sorrow for the death of Augustus. If for Drusus he demanded not the same honour, it was because Drusus was present, and already Consul designed. He then named twelve candidates for the Prætorship, the same number settled by Augustus; and, though the Senate requested him
to

to increase it, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed.

The privilege of creating Magistrates was now first translated from the assemblies of the people to the Senate. For though the Emperor had before conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure; yet till that day, some were still transacted by the Tribes, and carried by their bent and suffrages. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumbling. The Senate too liked the change, as by it they were released from the charge of buying votes, and from the shame of begging them. And so moderate was Tiberius, that, of the twelve candidates, he only reserved to himself the recommendation of four, to be accepted without opposition or caballing. At the same time, the tribunes of the people asked leave to celebrate, at their own expence, certain plays in honour of Augustus, such as were to be called after his name, and inserted in the calendar. But it was decreed, that out of the exchequer the charge should be defrayed, and the tribunes should in the Circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them. The annual celebration of these plays was, for the future, transferred to one of the prætors, him in particular to whom should fall the jurisdiction of deciding suits between citizens and strangers.

Thus stood affairs at Rome when a sedition seized the Legions in Pannonia; without any fresh grounds, save that from a change of princes they meant to assume a warrant for licentiousness and tumult, and from a civil war hoped great earnings and acquisitions. They were three Legions encamped together, all commanded by Junius Blefus, who upon notice of the death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius, had granted the soldiers a re-
cess

cess from their wonted duties for some days, as a time either of public mourning or festivity. From being idle they waxed wanton, quarrelsome, and turbulent; greedily listened to mutinous discourses; the most profligate amongst them had most credit with them, and at last they became passionate for a life of sloth and riot, utterly averse to all military discipline and every fatigue of the camp. In the camp was one Percennius; formerly a busy leader in the embroilments of the theatre, and now a common soldier; a fellow of a petulant declaiming tongue, and, by inflaming parties in the playhouse, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This incendiary practised upon the ignorant and unwary, such as were solicitous what might prove their future usage, now Augustus was dead. He engaged them in nightly confabulations, and, by little and little, incited them to violence and disorders; and, towards the evening, when the soberest and best affected were withdrawn, he assembled the worst and most turbulent. When he had thus ripened them for sedition, and other ready incendiaries were combined with him, he personated the character of a lawful Commander, and thus questioned and harangued them:

“ Why did they obey, like slaves, a few Centurions, and a fewer Tribunes? When would they be bold enough to demand redress of their heavy grievances, unless they snatched the present occasion, while the Emperor was yet new, and his authority wavering, to prevail with him by petition, or by arms to force him? They had already, by the misery of many years, paid dear for their patient sloth, and stupid silence, since, decrepid with age, and maimed with wounds, after a course of service for thirty or forty years, they were still doomed to carry arms. Nor, even to those who were discharged, was there

“ there any end of the misery of warfare; they
 “ were still kept tied to the colours, and, under
 “ the creditable title of Veterans, endured the same
 “ hardships, and underwent the same labours. But
 “ suppose any of them escaped so many dangers,
 “ and survived so many calamities, where was
 “ their reward at last? A long and weary march
 “ remained yet to be taken into countries far re-
 “ mote and strange, where, under the name of
 “ lands given them to cultivate, they had inhospitable
 “ boggs to drain, and the wild wastes of
 “ mountains to manure. Severe and ungainful of
 “ itself was the occupation of war; ten As’s a
 “ day the poor price of their persons and lives;
 “ out of this they must buy cloaths, and tents, and
 “ arms; out of this bribe the cruel Centurions, for
 “ a forbearance of blows, and occasional exemption
 “ from hard duty. But stripes from their officers,
 “ and wounds from their enemies, hard winters
 “ and laborious summers, bloody wars and
 “ barren peace, were miseries without end; nor
 “ remained there other cure or relief than to refuse
 “ to list but upon conditions certain, and fixed by
 “ themselves; particularly, that their pay be a
 “ denarius or sixteen As’s a day, sixteen years be
 “ the utmost term of serving; when discharged, to
 “ be no longer obliged to follow the colours, but
 “ to have their reward, in ready money, paid them
 “ in the camp where they earned it. Did the
 “ Prætorian guards, they who had double pay,
 “ they who, after sixteen years service, were paid
 “ off and sent home, bear severer difficulties, undergo
 “ superior dangers? He did not mean to detract
 “ from the merit of their brethren the city
 “ guards; their own harder lot however was, to
 “ be placed amongst horrid and barbarous nations,
 “ nor could they look from their tents, but they
 “ saw the foe.”

The

The whole crowd received this harangue with shouts of applause; but from various instigations. Some displayed upon their bodies the impressions of stripes, others their hoary heads, many their vestments ragged and curtailed, with backs utterly bare; as did all, their various griefs in the bitterness of reproach. At length to such excessive fury they grew, that they proposed to incorporate the three Legions into one; nor by ought but emulation was the project defeated: for, to his own Legion, every man claimed the prerogative of swallowing and denominating the other two. They took another method, and placed the three eagles of the Legions, with the standards of the several Cohorts, all together, without rank or priority; then forthwith digged turf, and were rearing a tribunal, one high enough to be seen at a distance. In this hurry arrived Blesus, who, falling into fore rebukes, and by force interrupting particulars, called with vehemence to all; “Dip your hands rather in my blood. To murder your General, will be a crime less shameful and heinous, than to revolt from your Prince: for, determined I am, either to preserve the Legions in their faith and obedience, if you kill me not for my intended good office; or my death, if I fall by your hands, shall hasten your remorse.”

For all this, turfs were accumulated, and the work was already breast-high, when, at last, overcome by his spirit and perseverance, they forbore. Blesus was an able speaker; he told them, “that sedition and mutiny were not the methods of conveying to the Emperor the pretensions of the soldiers; their demands too were new and singular; such as neither the soldiers of old had ever made to the ancient Generals, nor they themselves to the deified Augustus: besides, their claims were ill-timed, when the Prince,

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“ just upon his accession, was already embarrassed
“ with the weight and variety of other cares. If
“ however they meant to try to gain in full peace
“ those concessions, which, even after a civil war,
“ the conquerors never claimed ; yet why trample
“ upon duty and obedience, why reject the laws
“ of the army, and rules of discipline ? And if
“ they meant to petition, why meditate violence ?
“ They might at least appoint deputies ; and in
“ his presence trust them with their pretensions.”
Here they all cried out, “ that the son of Blesus,
“ one of their tribunes, should execute that depu-
“ tation ; and demand, in their name, that, after
“ sixteen years service, they should be discharged.
“ They said, they would give him new orders,
“ when he had succeeded in these.” After the
departure of the young officer, a moderate recess
ensued. The soldiers however exulted to have car-
ried such a point ; the sending the son of their
General, as the public advocate for their cause, was
to them full proof, that they had gained, by force
and terror, that which, by modesty, and gentle
means, they would never have gained.

In the mean time those companies, which, be-
fore the sedition began, were sent to Nauportum,
to mend roads and bridges, and upon other duties,
no sooner heard of the uproar in the camp, but
they cast off all obedience, tore away the ensigns,
and plundered the neighbouring villages. Even
Nauportum itself, which for greatness resembled a
municipal city, was plundered. The endeavours
of the Centurions, to restrain this violence, were
first returned with mockery and contempt, then
with invectives and contumelies, at last with out-
rage and blows. Their vengeance was chiefly bent
against the camp-marshal, Aufidienus Rufus : him
they dragged from his chariot, and loading him
with baggage, drove him before the first ranks.
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They then insulted him, and asked in scorn, “ whether he would gladly bear such enormous burdens ; whether endure such immense marches ? ” Rufus had been long a common soldier, then became a Centurion, and afterwards Camp-Marshal ; a severe restorer of primitive strictness and discipline ; an indefatigable observer of every military duty, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himself undergone them with all patience.

By the arrival of this tumultuous band, the sedition was again awakened to its former outrage, and the Seditious roving abroad without controul, ravaged the country on every side. Blefus, for an example of terror to the rest, commanded those who were most laden with plunder, to be punished with stripes, and cast into prison. For the General was still dutifully obeyed by the Centurions, and by all the soldiers of any merit. But the criminals refused to submit, and even struggled with the guard who were carrying them off : They clasped the knees of the by-standers, implored help from their fellows ; now calling upon every individual, and conjuring them by their particular names ; then appealed to them in a body, and supplicated the Company, the Cohort, the Legion, to which they belonged ; warning and proclaiming, that the same ignominy and chastisement hung over them all. With the same breath they heaped invectives without measure upon their General, and called upon heaven and all the Gods to be their witnesses and avengers ; nor left they ought unattempted to raise effectual hatred, compassion, terror, and every species of fury. Hence the whole body rushed to their relief, burst open the prison, unbound and rescued the prisoners. Thus they owned for their brethren, and incorporated with themselves, infamous revolvers, and traitors convict and condemned.

Hence

Hence the violence became more raging, and hence more sedition from more leaders. There was particularly one Vibulenus a common soldier, who, exalted on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Blesus, thus declaimed in the ears of a multitude already outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to say. "To these innocents, says he, to these miserable sufferers, our fellow soldiers, you have indeed restored breath and liberty; but, who will restore life to my poor brother; who my poor brother to me? He was sent hither by the German armies, with propositions for our common good; and for this, was last night butchered by the same Blesus, who in the murder employed his gladiators, bloody men, whom he purposely entertains and arms for our common execution: where, oh Blesus, hast thou thrown his mangled corps? Even open enemies do not inhumanly deny burial to the slain. When I have satiated my sorrow with a thousand kisses, and a flood of tears, command me also to be murdered; that these our brethren may together bury my poor brother and me, slaughtered both as victims, yet both guiltless of any crime, but that of studying the common interest of the legions."

He inflamed those his complaints and expostulations, with affecting sighs and lamentations, beat his breast, and tore his face. Then, those who carried him, giving way, he threw himself headlong at the feet of his companions; and thus prostrate and supplicating, in them raised such a spirit of commiseration, and such a storm of vengeance, that one party of them seized and bound the General's gladiators; another, the rest of his family; while many ran and dispersed themselves to search for the corps: and had it not been quickly manifest that there was no corps to be found, that the slaves

of Blesus had upon the rack cleared themselves, and that Vibulenus never had any brother; they had gone nigh to have sacrificed the General. As it was, they expelled the Camp-marshal and Tribunes, and, as they fled, plundered their baggage. They likewise put to death Lucilius the Centurion, whom they had sarcastically named *cede alteram*, because when upon the back of a soldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call for another, then a third. The other Centurions lurked in concealment, all but Julius Clemens, who, for his prompt capacity, was saved in order to manage the negotiations of the soldiers. Even two of the Legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were ready to turn their swords upon each other; and had, but for the ninth. One Sirpicus, a Centurion, was the subject of the quarrel: him the eighth required to be put to death; the fifteenth protected him; but the ninth interposed with entreaties to both, and with threats to those who would not listen to prayers.

Tiberius, however close and impenetrable, and ever labouring to smother all melancholy tidings, was yet driven by those from Pannonia, to dispatch his son Drusus thither, accompanied by the principal nobility, and guarded by two Prætorian cohorts; but charged with no precise instructions, only to adapt his measures to the present exigency. The cohorts were strengthened with an extraordinary addition of chosen men, with the greatest part of the Prætorian horse, and main body of the German, then the emperor's guards. Ælius Sejanus, lately joined with his father Strabo in the command of the Prætorian bands, was also sent, not only as governor to the young Prince, but, as his credit with the Emperor was known to be mighty, to deal with the revolvers by promises and terrors. When Drusus approached, the Legions, for shew of respect, marched out to meet him, not with the usual symptoms

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and ſhouts of joy, nor with gay enſigns and arms glittering, but in a dreſs and accoutrements hideous and ſqualid. In their countenances too, though compoſed to ſadneſs, were ſeen greater marks of ſullenneſs and contumacy.

As ſoon as he was within the camp, they ſecured the entrances with guards, and in ſeveral quarters of it placed parties upon duty. The reſt crowded about the Tribunal of Drufus, who ſtood beckoning with his hand for ſilence. Here, as often as they ſurveyed their own numbers, and met one another's reſentful looks, they uttered their rage in horrible cries: Again, when they beheld CÆSAR upon the Tribunal, awe and trembling ſeized them. Now, there prevailed an hollow and inarticulate murmur; next, a furious clamour; then, ſuddenly, a dead ſilence. So that, by a haſty ſucceſſion of oppoſite paſſions, they were at once diſmayed and dreadful. When, at laſt, the uproar was ſtaid, he read his father's letters, who in them declared, “ that he
“ would take an affectionate care of the brave and
“ invincible Legions, by whom he had ſuſtained
“ ſucceſſfully ſo many wars; and, as ſoon as his
“ grief was a little abated, deal with the Senate
“ about their demands; in the mean time he had
“ ſent them his ſon, on purpoſe to make them
“ forthwith all the conſeſſions, which could in-
“ ſtantly be made them: the reſt were to be re-
“ ſerved for the Senate, the proper diſtributors of
“ rewards and puniſhments by a right altogether
“ unalienable.”

The aſſembly answered, that to Julius Clemens they had intruſted what to ſpeak in their name: he began with their demands, “ to be diſcharged af-
“ ter ſixteen years ſervice, to have the reward
“ which, for paſt ſervices upon that diſcharge, they
“ claimed; their pay to be increaſed to a Roman
“ Denarius; the Veterans to be no longer detained

“ under their ensigns.” When Drusus urged, that wholly in the judgment of the Senate and his father these matters rested; he was interrupted by their clamours: “ To what purpose came he; since he could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate their grievances? and while every officer was allowed to inflict upon them blows and death, the son of their Emperor wanted power to relieve them by one beneficent action. This was the policy of the late reign, when Tiberius frustrated every request of the soldiers, by referring all to Augustus; now Drusus was come, with the same artifices, to delude them. Were they never to have a higher visit than from the children of their Prince? It was, indeed, unaccountable, that to the Senate the Emperor should leave no part in the direction of the army, only the rewarding of the soldiery. Ought not the same Senate to be consulted as often as a battle was to be fought, or a private man to be punished? or, were their recompences to be adjudged by many masters, but their punishments to remain without any restraint or moderator whatsoever?”

At last, they abandoned the Tribunal, and with menaces and insults fell upon all they met, belonging to Drusus either as guards or friends, meditating thus to provoke a quarrel, and an introduction to blood. Chiefly enraged they were against Cneius Lentulus, as one, for years and warlike renown, superior to any about the person of Drusus, and thence suspected to have hardened the Prince, and been himself the foremost to despise these outrages in the soldiery. Nor was it long after, that, as he was leaving Drusus, and, from the foresight of danger, returning to the winter quarters, they surrounded him, and demanded, “ whither he went? to the Emperor or Senate? there also to exercise his enmity to the Legions, and oppose
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" their interest?" and instantly assaulted him with stones. He was already covered with wounds and blood, and awaiting certain assassination, when the troops attending Drusus flew to his assistance, and saved him.

The following night had a formidable aspect, and threatened the speedy eruption of some tragical vengeance, when a phenomenon intervened and asswaged all. The moon, in the midst of a clear sky, seemed to the soldiers suddenly to sicken; and they who were ignorant of the natural cause, took this for an omen foreboding the issue of their present adventures. To their own labours they compared the eclipse of the planet, and prophesied; " that, if to the distressed goddess should be restored her wonted brightness and vigour, equally successful would be the issue of these their struggles." Hence they strove to charm and revive her with sounds, and, by ringing upon brazen metal, and an uproar of trumpets and cornets, made a vehement bellowing. As she appeared brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had utterly bereft them of her sight, and they believed her now buried in everlasting darkness; then, as minds once thoroughly dismayed are pliant to superstition, they bewailed " their own eternal sufferings thus portended, and that against their misdeeds the angry deities were con- tending." Drusus, who thought it behoved him to improve this disposition of theirs, and to reap the fruits of wisdom from the operations of chance; ordered certain persons to go round, and apply to them from tent to tent. For this purpose, he called and employed the Centurion Julius Clemens, and whoever else were by honest methods acceptable to the multitude. These insinuated themselves every-where, with those who kept watch, or were upon patrol, or guarded the gates, soothing all with

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hopes, and by terrors rousing them: "How longy
" said they, shall we hold the son of our Emperor
" thus besieged? Where will our broils and wild
" contentions end? Shall we swear allegiance to
" Percennius and Vibulenus? Will Vibulenus and
" Percennius support us with pay during our ser-
" vice, and reward us with lands when dismissed?
" In short, shall two common men dispossess the
" Neroes and the Drusi, and to themselves assume
" the Empire of the Roman people? Let us be
" wiser; and as we were the last to revolt, be
" the first to relent. Such demands as comprize
" terms for all, are ever slowly accorded: but par-
" ticulars may, when they please, merit instant fa-
" vour, and instantly receive it." These reason-
ings alarmed them, and filled them with mutual
jealousies. Presently the fresh soldiers forsook the
Veterans, one Legion separated from another; then
by degrees returned the love of duty and obedience.
They relinquished the guard of the gates; and the
Eagles and other ensigns, which in the beginning
of the tumult they had thrown together, were now
restored each to its distinct station.

Drusus, as soon as it was day, summoned an as-
sembly, and though unskilled in speaking, yet with
a haughtiness inherent in his blood, rebuked their
past, and commended their present behaviour:
"With threats and terrors, he said, it was impos-
" sible to subdue him; but if he saw them reclaim-
" ed to submission, if from them he heard the lan-
" guage of supplicants, he would send to his fa-
" ther to accept with a reconciled spirit the peti-
" tions of the Legions." Hence, at their entrea-
ty, for their deputy to Tiberius, the same Blesus
was again dispatched, and with him Lucius Apro-
nius, a Roman Knight, and intimate companion
of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a Centurion of
the first order. There followed great debates in
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the council of Drusus, while some advised " to
suspend all proceeding, till the return of the
deputies, and by a course of courtesy the while
to sooth the soldiers; others maintained, that re-
medies more potent must needs be applied: in a
multitude, was to be found nothing on this side
extremes; always imperious where they are not
awed, and to be despised without danger when
frightened. To their present terror from super-
stition was to be added the dread of their Gene-
ral, by his dooming to death the authors of the
sedition." Rather prompt to rigorous counsels
was the genius of Drusus. Vibulenus and Percen-
nius were produced, and by his command executed.
It is by many recounted, that in his own tent they
were secretly dispatched and buried; by others,
that their bodies were ignominiously thrown over
the entrenchments, for a public spectacle of terror.

Search was then made for other remarkable in-
cendiaries. Some were caught skulking without
the camp, and there by the Centurions or Præto-
rian soldiers slain. Others were by their several
companies delivered up, as a proof of their own
fidelity. The consternation of the soldiers was
heightened by the precipitate accession of winter,
with rains incessant, and so violent, that they were
unable to stir from their tents, or maintain com-
mon intercourse, nay scarce to preserve their stand-
ards, assaulted continually by tempestuous winds
and raging floods. Dread besides of the angry Gods
still possessed them; " nor was it at random, they
thought, that such profane traitors were thus vi-
sited with black eclipses, and roaring tempests;
neither against these their calamities was there
other relief than the relinquishing of a camp by
impiety contaminated and accursed, and, after
expiation of their guilt, returning to their seve-
ral garisons." The eighth legion departed first;

then the fifteenth : the ninth, with earnest clamours, pressed for continuing there till the letters from Tiberius arrived ; but when deserted by the other two, their courage failed, and by following of their own accord, they prevented the shame of being forced. Drusus seeing order and tranquillity thus restored, without staying for the return of the Deputies, returned himself to Rome.

Almost at the same time, and from the same causes, the legions in Germany raised an insurrection, with greater numbers, and thence with more fury. Passionate too were their hopes that Germanicus would never brook the rule of another, but yield to the spirit of the legions, who had force sufficient to bring the whole Empire under his sway. Upon the Rhine were two armies ; that called the higher, commanded by Caius Silius, Lieutenant-General ; the lower, by Aulus Cæcina. The command in chief rested in Germanicus, then busy collecting the tribute in Gaul. The forces however under Silius, with cautious ambiguity, watched the success of the revolt which others began : for the soldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrages, which began from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, who drew after them the first and the twentieth. These were altogether upon the frontiers of the Ubians, passing the campaign in utter idleness, or light duty : so that upon the news that Augustus was dead, the whole swarm of new soldiers lately levied in the city, men accustomed to the effeminacies of Rome, and impatient of every military hardship, began to possess the ignorant minds of the rest with many turbulent expectations, “ that now was presented
“ the lucky juncture for Veterans to demand intire
“ dismissal ; the fresh soldiers, larger pay ; and all
“ some mitigation of their miseries ; as also to re-
“ turn due vengeance for the cruelties of the Cen-
“ turions.”

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“ turions.” These were not the harangues of a single incendiary, like Percennius amongst the Pannonian legions; nor uttered, as there, in the ears of men, who, while they saw before their eyes armies greater than their own, mutinied with awe and trembling: But here was a sedition of many mouths, filled with many boasts, “ that in their hands lay the power and fate of Rome; by their victories the Empire was enlarged, and from them the Cæsars took, as a compliment, the surname of Germanicus.”

Neither did Cæcina strive to restrain them. A madness so extensive had bereft him of all his bravery and firmness. In this precipitate frenzy they rushed at once, with swords drawn, upon the Centurions, the eternal objects of their resentment, and always the first victims to their vengeance. Them they dragged to the earth, and upon each bestowed a terrible portion of sixty blows; a number proportioned to that of Centurions in a legion. Then bruised, mangled, and half expiring, as they were, they cast them all out of the camp, some into the stream of the Rhine. Septimius, who had for refuge fled to the tribunal of Cæcina, and lay clasping his feet, was demanded with such imperious vehemence, that he was forced to be surrendered to destruction. Cassius Chereal (afterwards famous to posterity for killing Caligula) then a young man of undaunted spirit, and one of the Centurions, boldly opened himself a passage with his sword through a crowd of armed foes striving to seize him. After this no further authority remained to the Tribunes, none to the Camp-Marshals. The seditious soldiers were their own officers; set the watch, appointed the guard, and gave all orders proper in the present exigency. Hence those who dived deepest into the spirit of the soldiery, gathered a special indication how powerful and obdurate the present in-

urrection was like to prove ; for in their conduct were no marks of a rabble, where every man's will guides him, or the instigation of a few controuls the whole. Here, all at once they raged, and all at once kept silence ; with so much concert and steadiness, that you would have believed them under the sovereign direction of one.

To Germanicus the while, then receiving, as I have said, the tribute in Gaul, news were brought of the decease of Augustus, whose grand-daughter Agrippina he had to wife, and by her many children. He was himself the grandson of Livia, by her son Drusus the brother of Tiberius ; but ever under heavy anxiety from the secret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him ; hate the more virulent, as its grounds were altogether unrighteous. For, dear and adored was the memory of his father Drusus amongst the Roman people, and from him was firmly expected, that had he succeeded to the Empire, he would have restored public liberty. Hence their zeal for Germanicus, and of him the same hopes conceived ; as from his youth he possessed a popular spirit, and marvellous affability, utterly remote from the comportment and address of Tiberius, ever haughty and mysterious. The animosities too between the ladies administered fresh fuel, while, towards Agrippina, Livia was actuated by the despight natural to step-mothers : and over-tempestuous was the indignation of Agrippina ; only that her known chastity, and love for her husband, always gave her mind, however vehement, a virtuous turn.

But Germanicus, the nearer he stood to supreme rule, the more vigour he exerted to secure it to Tiberius ; to whom he obliged the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as also the several Belgic cities, to swear present allegiance ; and the moment he learnt the uproar of the legions, posted thither.

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He found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes cast down, in feigned token of remorse. After he entered the entrenchments, instantly his ears were filled with complaints and grievances, uttered in hideous and mixt clamours. Nay, some catching his hand, as if they meant to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, to feel their gums destitute of teeth; others shewed their limbs enfeebled, and bodies stooping under old age. As he saw the assembly mixt at random, he commanded them "to range themselves into companies, thence more distinctly to hear his answers; as also to place before them their several Ensigns; that the cohorts at least might be distinguished." With slowness and reluctance they obeyed him. Then beginning with an encomium upon the "venerable memory of Augustus," he proceeded to the "many victories and many triumphs of Tiberius, and with peculiar praises celebrated the glorious and immortal deeds, which with these very legions he had accomplished in Germany;" he next boasted the quiet state of things, the consent of all Italy, the loyal faith of both the Gauls; and every quarter of the Roman state exempt from disaffection and disorders.

Thus far they listened with silence, at least with moderate murmuring; but the moment he touched their sedition, and questioned, "where now was the wonted modesty of soldiers? where the glory of ancient discipline? whither had they chased their Tribunes, whither their Centurions?" to a man, they stripped themselves to the skin, and there exposed the seams of their wounds, and bruises of their chastisements, in the rage of reproach. Then the undistinguished voice of uproar, they urged, the exactions for occasional exemptions; their scanty pay; and their rigorous labours;" which they represented in a long detail; "ramparts to be

“ reared ; entrenchments digged, trees felled and
“ drawn ; forage cut and carried ; fuel prepared
“ and fetched ;” with every other article of toil
required by the exigencies of war, or to prevent
idleness in the soldiery. Above all, from the Ve-
terans arose a cry most vehement and furious : they
enumerated thirty years or upwards undergone in
the service, “ and besought, that, to men utterly
“ spent, he would administer respite, nor suffer
“ them to be beholden to death for the last relief
“ from their toils ; but discharge them from a war-
“ fare so lasting and severe, and grant them the
“ means of a comfortable recess.” Nay, some there
were who required of him the money bequeathed
them by Augustus ; and towards Germanicus ut-
tering zealous vows, with omens of happy fortune,
declared their cordial attachment to his cause, if
he would himself assume the Empire. Here, as al-
ready stained with their treason, he leaped headlong
from the Tribunal ; but with swords drawn they
opposed his departure, and threatened his life, if he
refused to return : yet, with passionate protestations,
that “ he would rather die than be a traitor,”
he snatched his sword from his side, and aiming full
at his breast, would have buried it there, had not
those who were next him seized his hand, and by
force restrained him. A cluster of soldiers in the
extremity of the assembly, exhorted him, nay, what
is incredible to hear, some particulars advancing
nearer, exhorted him, *to strike home*. In truth, one
Calusidius, a common soldier, presented him his
naked sword, and added, “ it is sharper than your
“ own ;” a behaviour which to the rest, outrageous
as they were, seemed savage, and of horrid ex-
ample. Hence, the friends of Germanicus had
time to snatch him away to his tent.

It was here consulted what remedy to apply ; for
it was advised, that “ ministers of sedition were

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" preparing to be dispatched to the other army, to
" draw them too into a confederacy in the revolt;
" that the capital of the Ubians was destined to be
" sacked; and if their hands were once inured to
" plunder, they would break in, and ravage all
" Gaul." This dread was augmented by another:
the enemy knew of the sedition in the Roman army,
and were ready to invade the Empire, if its barrier
the Rhine were left unguarded. Now, to arm the
allies and the auxiliaries of Rome, and lead them
against the departing Legions, was to rouse a civil
war: severity was dangerous; the way of largesses
infamous; and alike threatening it was to the State,
to grant the turbulent soldiers nothing, or yield them
every thing. After revolving every reason and ob-
jection, the result was, to feign letters and directions
from Tiberius, " that those who had served twenty
" years should be finally discharged; such as had
" served sixteen be under the ensign and privilege of
" Veterans, released from every duty, but that of
" repulsing the enemy; and the legacy which they
" demanded, should be paid and doubled."

The soldiers, who perceived, that, purely to evade
present difficulty, the concessions were forged, in-
sisted to have them forthwith executed; and instantly
the Tribunes dispatched the discharge of the Vete-
rans. That of the money was adjourned to their
several winter-quarters: but the fifth Legion, and
the one and twentieth, refused to stir, till in that
very camp they were paid; so that out of the money
reserved by himself and his friends for travelling ex-
pences, Germanicus was obliged to raise the sum.
Cæcina, Lieutenant-General, led the first Legion
and twentieth, back to the capital of the Ubians;
an infamous march, when the plunder of their Ge-
neral's coffers was carried amidst the Ensigns and
Roman Eagles. Germanicus, the while, proceed-
ing to the army in higher Germany, brought the
second,

second, thirteenth and sixteenth Legions to swear allegiance without hesitation : to the fourteenth, who manifested some short suspense, he made, unasked, a tender of their money, and a present discharge.

But a party of Veterans which belonged to the disorderly Legions, and then in garison among the Chaucians, as they began a sedition there, were somewhat quelled by the instant execution of two of their body ; an execution commanded by Men-nius, Camp-Marshal, and rather of good example, than done by competent authority. The tumult however swelling again with fresh rage, he fled, but was discovered ; so that, finding no safety in lurking, from his own bravery he drew his defence, and declared, “ that to himself, who was only their
“ Camp-Marshal, these their outrages were not
“ done, but done to the authority of Germanicus
“ their General, to the Majesty of Tiberius their
“ Emperor.” At the same time, braving and dis-maying all that would have stopped him, he fiercely snatched the colours, faced about towards the Rhine, and, pronouncing the doom of traitors and deserters to every man who forsook his ranks, brought them back to their winter-quarters, mutinous, in truth, but not daring to mutiny.

In the mean time the deputies from the Senate met Germanicus at the altar of the Ubians, whither in his return he was arrived. Two Legions wintered there, the first, and twentieth, with the soldiers lately placed under the standard of Veterans ; men already under the distractions of guilt and fear : and now a new terror possessed them, that these Senators were come armed with injunctions to cancel every concession which they had by sedition extorted ; and, as it is the custom of the crowd to be ever charging somebody with the crimes suggested by their own false alarms, the guilt of this imaginary
decrees

decree they laid upon Minutius Plancus, a Senator of consular dignity, and at the head of this deputation. In the dead of night, they began to clamour aloud for the purple standard placed in the quarters of Germanicus; and rushing tumultuously to his gate, burst the doors, dragged the Prince out of his bed, and with menaces of present death, compelled him to deliver the standard. Then, as they roved about the camp, they met the Deputies; who having learnt the outrage, were hastening to Germanicus: upon them they poured a deluge of contumelies, and were devoting them to present slaughter; Plancus chiefly, whom the dignity of his character had restrained from flight; nor in this mortal danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the first Legion, where, embracing the Eagle, and other ensigns, he sought sanctuary from the religious veneration ever paid them. But, in spite of religion, had not Calpurnius the Eagle-bearer by force defeated the violent assault, in the Roman camp had been slain an Ambassador of the Roman people, and with his blood the inviolable altars of the Gods had been stained; a barbarity rare even in the camp of an enemy. At last, day returning, when the General, and the soldiers, and their actions could be distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp; and commanding Plancus to be brought, seated him by himself upon the tribunal: he then inveighed against the late "pernicious frenzy, which
 " in it, he said, had fatality, and was rekindled
 " by no despite in the soldiers, but by that of the
 " angry Gods." He explained the genuine purposes of that Embassy, and lamented with affecting eloquence "the outrage committed upon Plancus,
 " altogether brutal and unprovoked; the foul violence done to the sacred person of an Ambassador,
 " and the mighty disgrace from thence derived
 " upon the Legion." Yet as the assembly shewed

more

more stupefaction than calmness, he dismissed the Deputies under a guard of auxiliary horse.

During this affright, Germanicus was by all men censured, "that he retired not to the higher army, "whence he had been sure of ready obedience, and "even of succour against the revoltors. Already "he had taken wrong measures more than enough, "by discharging some, rewarding all, and other "tender counsels. If he despised his own safety; "yet why expose his infant-son, why his wife big "with child, to the fury of outrageous traitors, "wantonly violating all the most sacred rights "amongst men? It became him at least to restore "his wife and son safe to Tiberius, and to the "state." He was long unresolved; besides Agrippina was averse to leave him, and urged that "she was the grand-daughter of Augustus, and it "was below her spirit to shrink in a time of danger." But, embracing her and their little son, with great tenderness and many tears, he prevailed with her to depart. Thus there marched miserably along a band of helpless women; the wife of a great commander fled like a fugitive, and upon her bosom bore her infant-son; about her a troop of other ladies, dragged from their husbands, and drowned in tears, uttering their heavy lamentations. Nor weaker than theirs was the grief felt by all who remained.

These groans and tears, and this spectacle of woe, the appearances rather of a city stormed and sacked, than of a Roman camp, that of Germanicus Cæsar, victorious and flourishing, awakened attention and inquiry in the soldiers: leaving their tents, they cried, "Whence these doleful wailings? what "so lamentable! so many ladies of illustrious quality, travelling thus forlorn; not a Centurion "to attend them; not a soldier to guard them; "their General's wife amongst them, undistinguished

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“guished by any mark of her princely dignity,
“destitute of her ordinary train; frightened from
“the Roman Legions, and repairing, like an exile,
“for shelter to Treves, there to commit herself to
“the faith of foreigners.” Hence shame and com-
miseration seized them, and the remembrance of her
illustrious family, with that of her own virtues;
the brave Agrippa her father; the mighty Augustus
her grand-father; the amiable Drusus her father-
in-law, herself celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of
signal chastity: add the consideration of her little
son, born in the camp, nursed in the arms of the
Legions, and by themselves named Caligula, a mi-
litary name from the boots which of the same fashion
with their own, in compliment to them, and to
win their affections, he frequently wore. But no-
thing so effectually subdued them as their own envy
towards the inhabitants of Treves. Hence they all
besought, all adjured, that she would return to
themselves, and with themselves remain. Thus
some stopped Agrippina; but the main body re-
turned with their intreaties to Germanicus; who,
as he was yet in the transports of grief and anger,
addressed himself on this wise to the surrounding
crowd:

“To me neither is my wife or son dearer than
“my father and the commonwealth. But him
“doubtless his proper majesty will defend; and
“the other armies will defend the Roman State.
“As to my wife and children, whom, for your
“glory, I could freely sacrifice; I now remove
“them from your rage, that by my blood alone
“may be expiated whatever further mischief your
“fury meditates; and that the murder of the great
“grandson of Augustus, the murder of the daughter-
“in-law of Tiberius, may not be added to mine,
“nor to the blackness of your past guilt. For,
“during these days of phrensy, what has been too

“horrid

“ horrid for you to commit ? What so sacred that
“ you have not violated ? To this audience what
“ name shall I give ? Can I call you *Soldiers* ? you
“ who have beset with arms the son of your Em-
“ peror, confined him in your trenches, and held
“ him in a siege ? *Roman citizens* can I call you ?
“ you who have trampled upon the supreme authority
“ of the Roman Senate ? Laws religiously observed
“ by common enemies, you have profaned ; vio-
“ lated the sacred privileges and persons of Am-
“ bassadors ; broken the laws of nations. The
“ deified Julius Cæsar quelled a sedition in his army
“ by a single word ; by calling all who refused to
“ follow him, *Townsmen*. The deified Augustus,
“ when, after the battle of Actium, the Legions
“ lapsed into mutiny, terrified them into submis-
“ sion by the dignity of his presence, and an awful
“ look. These, it is true, are mighty characters,
“ whom I dare not emulate : but, as I inherit their
“ blood, should the armies in Syria and Spain con-
“ temn my authority, I should think their beha-
“ viour strange and base. Yet you are the first
“ and the twentieth Legions, the former enrolled
“ by Tiberius himself, the other his constant com-
“ panions in so many battels, his partners in so
“ many victories, and by him enriched with so many
“ bounties ! Is this the worthy return you make
“ your Emperor, and late commander ? And shall
“ I be the author of such tidings to him, in the
“ midst of congratulations and happy accounts
“ from every province in the Empire, that his own
“ new levies, as well as his own Veterans who
“ long fought under him, these, not appeased by
“ their discharge, and neither of them satiated
“ with the money given them, are both still com-
“ bined in a furious mutiny ? that here, and only
“ here, the Centurions are butchered, the Tribunes
“ driven away, the Ambassadors imprisoned ; that
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“ with blood the camp is stained; that the rivers
 flow with blood; and that for me, his son, I
 hold a precarious life amongst men thus raging
 and implacable?”

“ Why did you the other day, oh unseasonable
 friends! snatch away my sword, when I would
 have plunged it into my breast? He who offered
 me his own sword, acted better, and was more
 my friend. I would then have fallen happy, as
 my death would have hid from mine eyes so
 many horrible crimes, since committed by my
 own army. You too would have chosen another
 General, who, though he would have left my
 death unpunished, yet would have sought ven-
 geance for that of Varus, and the three Legions.
 For the Gods are too just to permit that the Bel-
 gians, however generously they offer their ser-
 vice, shall reap the credit and renown of retriev-
 ing the glory of the Roman name, and of re-
 ducing in behalf of Rome the German nations
 her foes. I therefore here invoke thy spirit now
 with the Gods, oh deified Augustus; and thy
 image interwoven in the ensigns, and thy me-
 mory, oh deceased father, to vindicate these Le-
 gions from this foul infamy. They already feel
 the remorses of shame, and a sense of honour.
 Let them turn the tide of their civil rage to the
 destruction of their common enemy. And for
 you, my fellow soldiers, in whom I now behold
 other countenances, and minds happily changed;
 if you mean to restore to the Senate its Amba-
 sadors, to your Emperor your sworn obedience,
 to me my wife and son; fly the company of in-
 cendiaries, separate the sober from the seditious.
 This will be a faithful sign of remorse, this a firm
 pledge of fidelity.”

These words softened them into supplicants:
 they confessed that all his reproaches were true;
 they

they besought him to punish the guilty and malicious, to pardon the weak and misled, and to lead them against the enemy; to recal his wife, to bring back his son, nor to suffer the fosterling of the Legions to be given in hostage to the Gauls. Against the recalling of Agrippina he alledged the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but said, that his son should return, and that to themselves he left to execute what remained further to be executed. Instantly, with changed resentments, they ran, and seizing the most seditious, dragged them in bonds to Caius Cetrionius, commander of the first Legion, who judged and punished them in this manner. The Legions, with their swords drawn, surrounded the Tribunal; from thence the prisoner was by a Tribune exposed to their view, and if they proclaimed him guilty, cast headlong down, and executed even by his fellow-soldiers, who rejoiced in the execution, because by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated: nor did Germanicus restrain them, since on themselves remained the cruelty and reproach of the slaughter committed without any order of his. The Veterans followed the same example of vengeance and were soon after ordered into Rhetia, in appearance to defend that province against the invading Suevians; in reality, to remove them from a camp still horrible to their sight, as well in the remedy and punishment, as from the memory of their crime. Germanicus next passed a scrutiny upon the conduct and characters of the Centurions: before him they were cited singly; and each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his service, exploits in war, and military presents, if he had been distinguished with any. If the Tribunes, or his Legion, bore testimony of his diligence and integrity, he kept his post; upon contriving complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

Thus were the present commotions appeased; but others as great still subsisted, from the rage and obstinacy of the fifth and twenty-first Legions. They were in winter-quarters sixty miles off, in a place called the *Old Camp*, and had first began the sedition: nor was there any wickedness so horrid that they had not perpetrated; nay, at this time, neither terrified by the punishment, nor reclaimed by the reformation of their fellow soldiers, they persevered in their fury. Germanicus therefore determined to give them battle, if they persisted in their revolt, and prepared vessels, arms, and troops, to be sent down the Rhine.

Before the issue of the sedition in Illyricum was known at Rome, tidings of the uproar in the German Legions arrived. Hence the city was filled with much terror, and hence against Tiberius many complaints, “that while with feigned consultations and delays he mocked the Senate and People, once the great bodies of the estate, but now bereft of power and armies, the soldiery were in open rebellion, one too mighty and stubborn to be quelled by two Princes so young in years and authority. He ought at first to have gone himself, and awed them with the majesty of imperial power; as doubtless they would have returned to duty, upon the sight of their Emperor, a Prince of consummate experience, the sovereign disposer of rewards and severity. Did Augustus, even under the pressures of old age and infirmities, take so many journies into Germany? and should Tiberius, in the vigour of his life, when the same, or greater occasions called him thither, sit lazily in the Senate, to watch Senators, and cavil at words? He had fully provided for the domestic servitude of Rome; he ought next to cure the licentiousness of the
“soldiers,

“ soldiers, to restrain their turbulent spirits, and re-
 “ concile them to a life of peace.”

But all these reasonings and reproaches moved not Tiberius. He was determined not to depart from the Capital, the centre of power and affairs, nor expose to chance or peril his person and empire. In truth, many and contrary difficulties pressed and perplexed him: “ the German army
 “ was the stronger; that of Pannonia nearer; the
 “ power of both the Gauls supported the former;
 “ the latter was at the gates of Italy. Now, to
 “ which should he repair first? and would not the
 “ last visited be enraged, by being postponed? But
 “ by sending one of his sons to each, the equal
 “ treatment of both was maintained; as also the
 “ majesty of the supreme power, which from di-
 “ stance ever derived most reverence. Besides,
 “ the young Princes would be excused, if to their
 “ father they referred such demands as were im-
 “ proper for them to grant; and if they disobeyed
 “ Germanicus and Drusus, his own authority re-
 “ mained to appease or punish them. But if once
 “ they had contemned their Emperor himself, what
 “ other resource was behind?” However, as if he
 had been upon the point of marching, he chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet: but by various delays and pretences, sometimes that of the winter, sometimes business, he deceived for a time even the wisest men, much longer the common people, and the provinces for a great while.

Germanicus had already drawn together his army, and was prepared to take vengeance on the seditious: but judging it proper to allow space for trial whether they would follow the late example, and, consulting their own safety, do justice upon one another, he sent letters to Cæcina, “ that he himself ap-
 “ proached, with a powerful force; and, if they
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prevented him not, by executing the guilty, he would put all indifferently to the slaughter.”

These letters Cæcina privately read to the principal Officers, and such of the camp as the sedition had not tainted; besought them, “to redeem themselves from death, and all from infamy; urged that in peace alone reason was heard, and merit distinguished; but in the rage of war, the blind steel spared the innocent no more than the guilty.”

The Officers having tried those whom they believed for their purpose, and found the majority still to persevere in their duty, settled, in concurrence with the General, the time for falling with the sword upon the most notoriously guilty and turbulent. Upon a particular signal given, they rushed into their tents, and butchered them; void as they were of all apprehension; nor did any but the Centurions and executioners know whence the massacre began, or where it would end.

This had a different face from all the civil slaughters that ever happened: it was a slaughter not of enemies upon enemies, nor from different and opposite camps, nor in a day of battle; but of comrades upon comrades, in the same tents where they eat together by day, where they slept together by night. From this state of intimacy, they fly into mortal enmity; friends launched their darts at friends: wounds, outcries, and blood were open view; but the cause remained hid: wild chance governed the rest, and several innocents were slain. For the criminals, when they found against whom this fury was bent, had also betaken themselves to their arms. Neither did Cæcina, nor any of the Tribunes, intervene to stay the rage: so that the soldiers had full permission of vengeance, with licentiousness and satiety of killing. Germanicus when after entered the camp now full of blood and carcasses, and, lamenting with many tears, that

“ this was not a remedy, but cruelty and desolation,” commanded the bodies to be burnt. The minds of the rest, still tempestuous and bloody, were transported with sudden eagerness to attack the foe ; as the best expiation of their tragical fury, nor otherwise, they thought, could the ghosts of their butchered brethren be appeased, than by receiving in their own profane breasts a chastisement of honourable wounds. Germanicus fell in with the ardour of the soldiers, and laying a bridge upon the Rhine, marched over twelve thousand Legionary soldiers, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight regiments of horse ; men all untainted in the late sedition.

The Germans rejoiced, not far off, at this vacation of war, occasioned first by the death of Augustus, and afterwards by intestine tumults in the camp. But the Romans by a hasty march passed through the Cælian woods, and levelling the barrier formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their camp upon it. In the front and rear they were defended by a palisade, on each side by a barricade of the trunks of trees felled. From thence, beginning to traverse gloomy forests, they stopped to consult which of two ways they should chuse, the short and frequented, or the longest and least known, and therefore unsuspected by the foe. The longest way was chosen ; but in every thing else dispatch was observed : for, by the scouts intelligence was brought that the Germans did, that night, celebrate a festival, with great mirth and revelling. Hence Cæcina was commanded to advance with the cohorts without their baggage, and to clear a passage through the forest : at moderate a distance followed the Legions : the clearness of the night facilitated the march ; and they arrived at the villages of the Marsians, which they presently invested with guards. The Germans were even yet under the effects of the

their debauch, scattered here and there, some in bed, some lying by their tables; no watch placed, no apprehension of an enemy. So utterly had their false security banished all order and care; and they were under no dread of war, without enjoying peace, other than the deceitful and lethargic peace of drunkards.

The Legions were eager for revenge; and Germanicus, to extend their ravage, divided them into four battalions. The country was wasted by fire and sword fifty miles round; nor sex nor age found mercy; places sacred and prophane had the equal lot of destruction, all razed to the ground, and with them the Temple of Tanfana, of all others the most celebrated amongst these nations. Nor did all this execution cost the soldiers a wound, while they only slew men half asleep, disarmed, or dispersed. This slaughter roused the Bructerans, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes; and they beset the passes of the forest, through which the army was to return; an event known to Germanicus, and he marched in order of battle: the auxiliary cohorts and part of the horse led the van, followed close by the first Legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty-first Legion closed the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear; and after them marched the rest of the allies. But the enemy stirred not, till the body of the army was entered the wood: they then began lightly to insult the front and wings; and, at last, with their whole force fell upon the rear. The light cohorts were already disordered by the close German bands, when Germanicus riding up to the twentieth Legion, and exalting his voice; this was the season, he cried, to obliterate the scandal of sedition: hence they should fall resolutely on, and convert into sudden praise their late shame and offence." These words inflamed

them: at one charge they broke the enemy, drove them out of the wood, and slaughtered them in the plain. In the mean while, the front passed the forest, and fortified the camp. The rest of the march was uninterrupted, and the soldiers, trusting to the merit of their late exploits, and forgetting at once past faults and terrors, were placed in winter-quarters.

The tydings of these exploits affected Tiberius with gladness and anguish. He rejoiced that the sedition was suppressed; but, that Germanicus had, by discharging the Veterans, by shortening the term of service to the rest, and by largesses to all, gained the hearts of the army, as well as earned high glory in war; proved to the emperor matter of torture. To the Senate, however, he reported the detail of his feats, and upon his valour bestowed copious praises, but in words too pompous and ornamental to be thought dictated by his heart. It was with more brevity that he commended Drusus, and his address in quelling the sedition of Illyricum, but more cordially withal, and in language altogether sincere; and even to the Pannonian Legions he extended all the concessions made by Germanicus to his own.

The same year died Julia, for her lewdness long since banished by her father Augustus into the isle of Pandateria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium upon the streights of Sicily. Whilst Caius and Lucius, her sons by Agrippa, yet lived, she was given in marriage to Tiberius; and despised him, as a man beneath her. Nor any motive so cogent as this had Tiberius for his retirement to Rhodes. When he came to the empire, she was already under the pressures of infamy and exile, and since the death of Agrippa Posthumus, destitute of all hope and support. Yet such multiplied distresses softened not the Emperor, who, by a long train of
 miseries,

miseries, and continued want, caused her finally to perish ; as he supposed that in the distance of her banishment her tragical death would remain concealed. From the same root was derived his cruelty to Sempronius Gracchus, the descendant of a family eminently noble, himself of a lively wit and prevailing eloquence, but viciously applied. He, while Julia was yet Agrippa's wife, had debauched her : neither with Agrippa ended their vicious league ; but after she was given to Tiberius, he still persisted her adulterer, and towards her husband inspired her with notable aversion and contumacy : The letters too by her written to her father, full of asperity against Tiberius, and labouring his ruin, were thought to have been composed by Gracchus. He was therefore banished to Cercina, an island in the African sea, where, for fourteen years, he suffered exile. The soldiers dispatched to the assassination found him upon a rising by the shore, to himself presaging nothing joyful from their arrival. Of them he only desired a short respite to send his last will in a letter to Alliaris his wife, and then extended his neck to the sword of the assassins ; a constancy in death not unworthy the Sempronian name : in his life he had degenerated. Some authors have related, that these soldiers were not sent directly from Rome, but by Lucius Asprenas, Proconsul of Africa, by the policy and command of Tiberius, who in vain hoped to have cast upon Asprenas the imputation of the murder.

There was likewise this year an admission of new rites, by the establishment of another College of Priests, one sacred to the deity of Augustus ; as formerly Titus Tatius, to preserve the religious rites of the Sabines, had founded the fraternity of Titian Priests. To fill the society, one and twenty the most considerable Romans were drawn by lot, and to them were added Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius,

Claudius, and Germanicus. The games in honour of Augustus, began then first to be embroiled by emulation among the players, and by the strife of parties in their behalf. Augustus had countenanced these players, and their art, in complaisance to Mæcenæ, who was mad in love with Bathyllus the comedian; nor to such favourite amusements of the populace had he any aversion himself; he rather judged it an acceptable courtesy to mingle with the multitude in these their popular pleasures. Different was the temper of Tiberius, different his politics: to severer manners, however, he durst not yet reduce the people so many years indulged in licentious gaieties.

In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus while the war still subsisted. He was preparing with all diligence to prosecute it the following summer; but began much sooner by a sudden irruption early in the spring into the territories of the Cattians; an anticipation of the campaign, which proceeded from the hopes given him of dissension amongst the enemy, caused by the opposite parties of Arminius and Segestes; two men signally known to the Romans upon different accounts; the last for his firm faith, the first for faith violated. Arminius was the incendiary of Germany; but by Segestes had been given repeated warnings of an intended revolt, particularly during the festival immediately preceding the insurrection. He had even advised Varus, "to secure him and Arminius, and all the other chiefs; for that the multitude, thus bereft of their leaders, would dare to attempt nothing; and Varus have time to distinguish crimes as such as committed none." But by his own fault and the sudden violence of Arminius, Varus fell. Segestes, though by the weight and unanimity of his nation, he was forced into the war, yet remain

ed at constant variance with Arminius: a domestic quarrel too heightened their hate; as Arminius had carried away the daughter of Segestes, already betrothed to another; and the same relations which amongst friends prove bonds of tenderness, were fresh stimulations of wrath to an obnoxious son, and an offended father.

Upon these encouragements, Germanicus committed to the command of Cæcina four Legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some bands of Germans, dwellers on this side the Rhine, drawn suddenly together; he led himself as many Legions, with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the old foundations of one raised by his father, rushed full march against the Cattians; having behind him left Lucius Apronius, to secure the ways from the fury of inundations. For, as the roads were then dry, and the rivers low, events in that climate exceedingly rare, he had without check expedited his march, but against his return apprehended the violence of rains and floods. Upon the Cattians he fell with such surprise, that all the weak, through sex or age, were instantly taken or slaughtered. Their youth, by swimming over the Adrana, escaped, and attempted to force the Romans from building a bridge to follow them, but by dint of arrows and engines were repulsed; then having in vain tried to gain terms of peace, some submitted to Germanicus; the rest abandoned their villages and dwellings, and dispersed themselves in the woods. Mattium, the capital of the nation he burnt, ravaged all the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durst the enemy harass his rear; an usual practice of theirs, when sometimes they fly more through craft than affright. The Cherusicans indeed were addicted to assist the Cattians, but terrified from attempting it by Cæcina, who moved about with his

forces from place to place ; and, by routing the Mar-
sians who had dared to engage him, restrained all
their efforts.

Soon after arrived deputies from Segestes, praying
relief against the combination and violence of his
countrymen, by whom he was held besieged ; as
more powerful amongst them than his was the cre-
dit of Arminius, since it was he who had advised
the war. This is the genius of Barbarians, to
judge that men are to be trusted in proportion as
they are fierce, and in public commotions ever to
prefer the most resolute. To the other deputies Se-
gestes had added Segimundus his son ; but the
young man faltered a while, as his own heart ac-
cused him ; for that, the year when Germany re-
volted, he who had been by the Romans created
Priest of the Altar of the Ubians, rent the sacerdo-
tal Tiara, and fled to the revolters : yet, encour-
aged by the Roman clemency, he undertook the
execution of his father's orders, was himself gra-
tiously received, and then conducted with a guard
to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus led back his
army to the relief of Segestes, and was rewarded
with success. He fought the besiegers, and rescued
him with a great train of his relations and followers ;
amongst them too were ladies of illustrious rank ;
particularly the wife of Arminius, she who was
the daughter of Segestes ; a lady more of the spi-
rit of her husband than that of her father ; a spirit
so unsubdued, that from her eyes captivity forced
not a tear, nor from her lips a breath in the still
of a suppliant. Not a motion of her hands, nor
look escaped her ; but, fast across her breast she
held her arms, and upon her heavy womb her eyes
were immoveably fixed. There were likewise car-
ried Roman spoils taken at the slaughter of Varus
and his army, and then divided as prey amongst
many of those who were now prisoners. At the

same time, appeared Segeſtes, of ſuperior ſtature ; and from a confidence in his good underſtanding with the Romans, undaunted. In this manner he ſpoke :

‘ This is not the firſt day, that to the Roman people I have approved my faith and adherence. From the moment I was by the deified Auguſtus preſented with the freedom of the city, I have continued by your intereſt to chuſe my friends, by your intereſt to denominate my enemies ; from no hate of mine to my native country (for odious are traitors even to the party which they embrace) but, becauſe the ſame meaſures were equally conducing to the benefit of the Romans and of the Germans ; and I was for peace rather than war. For this reaſon I applied to Varus, the then General, with an accuſation againſt Arminius, who from me had raviſhed my daughter, and with you violated the faith of leagues. But growing impatient with the ſlowneſs and inactivity of Varus, and well apprized how little ſecurity was to be hoped from the laws, I preſſed him to ſeize myſelf, and Arminius, and his accomplices ; witneſs that fatal night, to me I wiſh it had been the laſt ! More to be lamented than defended are the ſad events which followed. I moreover caſt Arminius into irons, and was myſelf caſt into irons by his faction ; and as ſoon as to you, Cæſar, I could apply, you ſee I prefer old engagements to preſent violence ; tranquillity to combuſtions ; with no view of my own to intereſt or reward, but to baniſh from me the imputation of perfidiouſneſs. For the German nation too, I would thus become a mediator, if peradventure they will chuſe rather to repent than be deſtroyed : for my ſon I entreat you, have mercy upon his youth, pardon his error. That my daughter is your priſoner by force, I own : in your own

‘ breast it wholly lies, under which character you
 ‘ will treat her, whether as one who has conceived
 ‘ by Arminius, or as one by me begotten.” The
 answer of Germanicus was gracious : he promised
 indemnity to his children and kindred, and to him-
 self a safe retreat in one of the old provinces ; then
 returned with his army, and, by the direction of
 Tiberius, received the title of *Imperator*. The wife
 of Arminius brought forth a male child, and the
 boy was brought up at Ravenna. His unhappy con-
 flicts, afterwards with the contumelious insults of
 fortune, will be remembered in their place.

The desertion of Segestus being divulged, with
 his gracious reception from Germanicus, affected
 his countrymen variously, with hope or anguish, as
 they were prone or averse to the war. Naturally
 violent was the spirit of Arminius, and now, by
 the captivity of his wife, and by the fate of his
 child doomed to bondage though yet unborn, en-
 raged even to distraction : he flew about amongst
 the Cheruscans, calling them to arms ; to arm
 against Segestes, to arm against Germanicus : invect-
 tives followed his fury : ‘ A blessed father this Se-
 ‘ gestes, he cried † a mighty General, this Germa-
 ‘ nicus ! invincible warriors these Romans ! so many
 ‘ troops have made prisoner of a woman. It is not
 ‘ thus that I conquer : Before me three Legions fell,
 ‘ and three Lieutenant-Generals. Open and ho-
 ‘ nourable is my method of war, nor waged with big-
 ‘ bellied women, but against men and arms ; and
 ‘ treason is none of my weapons. Still to be seen are
 ‘ the Roman standards in the German groves, there
 ‘ by me hung up, and devoted to our country Gods.
 ‘ Let Segestes live a slave in a conquered province ;
 ‘ let him recover to his Son a foreign Priesthood :
 ‘ With the German nations he can never obliterate
 ‘ his reproach, that through him they have seen,
 ‘ between the Elb and Rhine, rods and axes, and
 ‘ the

‘ the Roman Toga. To other Nations, who
‘ know not the Roman domination, executions and
‘ tributes are also unknown; evils which we too
‘ have cast off, in spite of that Augustus now dead,
‘ and enrolled with the deities, in spite too of Ti-
‘ berius his chosen successor. Let us not, after
‘ this, dread a mutinous army, and a boy without
‘ experience, their commander: but, if you love
‘ your country, your kindred, your ancient liberty
‘ and laws, better than tyrants and new colonies,
‘ let Arminius rather lead you to liberty and glory,
‘ than the wicked Segestes to the infamy of bond-
‘ age.”

By these stimulations, not the Cheruskans only
were roused, but all the neighbouring nations; and
into the confederacy was drawn Inguiomerus, pa-
ternal uncle to Arminius, a man long since in high
credit with the Romans. Hence a new source of
fear to Germanicus, who, to avoid the shock of
their whole forces, and to divert the enemy, sent
Cæcina with forty Roman cohorts to the river
Amisia, through the territories of the Bructerians.
Pedo the prefect led the cavalry by the confines of
the Frisians. He himself embarked four Legions
on the lake: and upon the bank of the said river the
whole body met, foot, horse, and the fleet. The
Chaucians, upon offering their assistance, were
taken into the service; but the Bructerians, setting
fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by
Sertinius, by Germanicus dispatched against them
with a band lightly armed. As this party were en-
gaged between slaughter and plunder, he found the
Eagle of the nineteenth Legion, lost in the overthrow
of Varus. The army marched next to the furthest
borders of the Bructerians, and the whole country
between the rivers Amisia and Luppia, was laid
waste. Not far hence lay the forest of Teutobur-
gium, and in it the bones of Varus and the Le-

gions, by report still unburied. Hence Germanicus became inspired with a tender passion to pay the last offices to the Legions and their leader: The like tenderness also affected the whole army. They were moved with compassion, some for the fate of their friends, others for that of their relations, here tragically slain: They were struck with the doleful casualties of war, and the sad lot of humanity. Cæcina was sent before to examine the gloomy recesses of the forest, to lay bridges over the pools, and, upon the deceitful marshes, causeways. The army entered the doleful solitude, hideous to sight, hideous to memory. First they saw the camp of Varus, wide in circumference; and the three distinct spaces allotted to the different Eagles, shewed the number of the Legions. Further they beheld the ruinous entrenchment, and the ditch night choaked up; in it the remains of the army were supposed to have made their last effort, and in it to have found their graves. In the open fields lay their bones all bleached and bare, some separate, some on heaps, just as they had happened to fall, flying for their lives, or resisting unto death. Here were scattered the limbs of horses, there pieces of broken javelins; and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves were the savage altars; where the Barbarians had made a horrible immolation of the Tribunes and principal Centurions. Those who survived the slaughter, having escaped from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest: ‘ Here the commanders of the Legions were slain: There we lost the Eagles: Here Varus had his first wound; there he gave himself another, and perished by his own unhappy hand. In that place too stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued: In this quarter, for the execution of his captives, he erected so many gibbets; in that such a number

of funeral trenches were digged; and with these circumstances of pride and despiht he insulted the ensigns and Eagles.'

Thus the Roman army buried the bones of the three Legions, six years after the slaughter; nor could any one distinguish, whether he gathered the particular remains of a stranger, or those of a kinsman: But all considered the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heightened resentments against the foe, at once sad and revengeful. In this pious office, so acceptable to the dead, Germanicus was a partner in the woe of the living; and upon the common tomb laid the first sod: a proceeding not liked by Tiberius; whether it were that upon every action of Germanicus he put a perverse meaning, or believed that the affecting spectacle of the unburied slain, would sink the spirit of the army, and heighten their terror of the enemy; as also that 'a General vested, as Augur, with the intendency of religious rites, became defiled by assisting at the solemnities of the dead.'

Arminius retiring into desert and pathless places, was pursued by Germanicus; who, as soon as he reached him, commanded the horse to advance, and dislodge the enemy from the post they had possessed. Arminius, having directed his men to keep close together, and draw near to the woods, wheeled suddenly about, and to those whom he had hid in the forest, gave the signal to rush out. The Roman horse, now engaged by a new army, became disordered, and to their relief some cohorts were sent, but likewise broken by the press of those that fled; and great was the consternation so many ways increased. The enemy too were already pushing them into the morass; a place well known to the pursuers, as to the unapprized Romans it had proved pernicious, had not Germanicus drawn out the Legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy be-

came terrified, our men reassured, and both retired with equal loss and advantage. Germanicus presently after returning with the army to the river Amisia, reconducted the Legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet. Part of the horse were ordered to march along the sea-shore to the Rhine. Cæcina, who led his own men, was warned, that though he was to return through known roads, yet he should with all speed pass the causeway, called *The Long Bridges*. It is a narrow track, between vast marshes, and formerly raised by Lucius Domitianus. The marshes themselves are of an uncertain soil, here full of mud, there of heavy sticking clay, or traversed with various currents. Round about are woods which rise gently from the plain, and were already filled with soldiers by Arminius, who, by shorter ways, and a running march, had arrived there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. Cæcina, who was perplexed how at once to repair the causeway decayed by time, and to repulse the foe, resolved at last to encamp in the place, that whilst some were employed in the work, others might maintain the fight.

The Barbarians strove violently to break our station, and to fall upon the entrenchers; harassed our men, assaulted the works, changed their attacks, and pushed every-where. With the shouts of the assailants the cries of the workmen were confusedly mixed; and all things equally combined to distress the Romans; the place deep with ooze sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced, their armour heavy, the waters deep, nor in them could they launch their javelins. The Cheruscans, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs; their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance. At last the Legions, already yielding, were by night redeemed from an

unequal

unequal combat; but night interrupted not the activity of the Germans, become by success indefatigable. Without refreshing themselves with sleep, they diverted all the courses of the springs which rise in the neighbouring mountains, and turned them into the plains; thus the Roman camp was flooded, the work, as far as they had carried it, overturned, and the labour of the poor soldiers renewed and doubled. To Cæcina this year proved the fortieth of his sustaining as officer or soldier the functions of arms; a man in all the vicissitudes of war, prosperous or disastrous, well experienced, and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore with himself all probable events and expedients, he could devise no other than that of restraining the enemy to the woods, till he had sent forward the wounded men and baggage; for from the mountains to the marshes there stretched a plain, fit only to hold a little army. To this purpose the Legions were thus appointed; the fifth had the right wing, and the one and twentieth the left; the first led the van; the twentieth defended the rear.

A restless night it was to both armies, but in different ways: the Barbarians feasted and caroused; and with songs of triumph, or with horrid and threatening cries, filled all the plain and echoing woods. Amongst the Romans were feeble fires, sad silence, or broken words; they leaned drooping here and there against the pales, or wandered disconsolately about the tents, like men without sleep, but not quite awake. A frightful dream too terrified the General; he thought he heard and saw Quinctilius Varus, rising out of the marsh, all besmeared with blood, stretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the call, and pushed him away. At break of day, the Legions, posted on the wings, through contumacy or affright, deserted their stations, and took sudden possession

possession of a field beyond the bogs ; neither did Arminius fall straight upon them, however open they lay to his assault : but, when he perceived the baggage set fast in mire and ditches ; the soldiers about it disorderly and embarrassed ; the ranks and ensigns in confusion ; and, as usual in a time of distress, every one in haste to save himself, but slow to obey his officer ; he then commanded his Germans to break in : “ Behold, he vehemently cried, “ behold again Varus and his Legions, subdued by “ the same fate ! ” Thus he cried, and at the same time, with a select body, broke quite through our forces ; and chiefly against the horse directed his havock : so that the ground becoming slippery, by their blood and the slime of the marsh, their feet flew from them, and they cast their riders ; then galloping and stumbling amongst the ranks, they overthrew all they met, and trod to death all they overthrew. The greatest difficulty was, to maintain the Eagles ; a storm of darts made it impossible to advance them, and the rotten ground impossible to fix them. Cæcina, while he sustained the fight, had his horse shot, and having fallen, was nigh taken ; but the first Legion saved him. Our relief came from the greediness of the enemy, who ceased slaying, to seize the spoil. Hence the Legions had respite to struggle into the fair field, and firm ground : nor was here an end to their miseries ; a palisade was to be raised, an entrenchment digged ; their instruments too, for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almost all lost ; no tents for the soldiers ; no remedies for the wounded ; and their food all defiled with mire or blood : as they shared it in sadness amongst them, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to so many thousand men the last.

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It happened that a horse, which had broke his collar, as he strayed about, became frightened with noise, and ran over some that were in his way : this raised such a consternation in the camp, from a persuasion that the Germans in-a body had forced an entrance, that all rushed to the gates, especially to the postern, as the furthest from the foe, and safer for flight. Cæcina, having found the vanity of their dread, but unable to stop them, either by his authority, or by his prayers, or indeed by force, flung himself, at last, cross the gate. This prevailed ; their awe and tenderness of their General, restrained them from running over his body ; and the Tribunes and Centurions satisfied them the while that it was a false alarm.

Then, calling them together, and desiring them to hear him with silence, he minded them of their difficulties, and how to conquer them : “ that for
“ their lives they must be indebted to their arms,
“ but force was to be tempered with art ; they must
“ therefore keep close within their camp, till the
“ enemy, in hopes of taking it by storm advanced ; then make a sudden sally on every side ;
“ and by this push they should break through the
“ enemy, and reach the Rhine ; but, if they fled,
“ more forests remained to be traversed, deeper
“ marshes to be passed, and the cruelty of a pursuing foe to be sustained.” He laid before them the motives and fruits of victory, public rewards and glory, with every tender domestic consideration, as well as those of military exploits and praise. Of their dangers and sufferings he said nothing. He next distributed horses, first his own, then those of the Tribunes and leaders of the Legions, to the bravest soldiers impartially ; that thus mounted they might begin the charge, followed by the foot.

Amongst the Germans, there was not less agitation, from hopes of victory, greediness of spoil,
and

and the opposite counsels of their leaders. Arminius proposed, "to let the Romans march off, and
"to beset them in their march, when engaged in
"bogs and fastnesses." The advice of Inguiomerus was fiercer, and thence more applauded by the Barbarians: he declared "for forcing the camp; for
"that the victory would be quick, there would be
"more captives, and intire plunder." As soon therefore as it was light, they rushed out upon the camp, cast hurdles into the ditch, attacked and grappled the palisade: Upon it, few soldiers appeared, and these seemed frozen with fear: but as the enemy in swarms were climbing the ramparts, the signal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets sounded, and instantly, with shouts and impetuosity, they issued out, and begirt the assailants; "Here are no thickets, they scornfully cried; "no bogs; but an equal field, and impartial Gods." The enemy, who imagined few Romans remaining, fewer arms, and an easy conquest, were struck with the sounding trumpets, with the glittering armour; and every object of terror appeared double to them who expected none. They fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in prosperity, are also destitute of conduct in distress. Arminius forsook the fight unhurt; Inguiomerus grievously wounded: their men were slaughtered as long as day and rage lasted. In the evening the Legions returned, in the same want of provisions, and with more wounds: but in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

In the mean time, a report had flown, that the Roman forces were routed, and an army of Germans upon full march, to invade Gaul: so that under the terror of this news there were those, whose cowardice would have emboldened them to have demolished the bridge upon the Rhine, had not Agrippina restrained them from that infamous attempt.

In truth, such was the undaunted spirit of the woman, that at this time she performed all the duties of a General, relieved the necessitous soldiers, upon the wounded bestowed medicines, and upon others cloaths. Caius Plinius, the writer of the German Wars, relates, that she stood at the end of the bridge, as the Legions returned, and accosted them with thanks and praises; a behaviour which sunk deep into the spirit of Tiberius; "for that all this officiousness of hers, he thought, could not be upright; nor that it was against foreigners only she engaged the army: to the direction of the Generals nothing was now left, when a woman reviewed the companies, attended the Eagles, and to the men distributed largesses, as if before she had shewn but small tokens of ambitious designs, in carrying her child (the son of the General) in a soldier's coat about the camp, with the title of Cæsar Caligula. Already in greater credit with the army was Agrippina than the leaders of the Legions, in greater than their Generals, and a woman had suppressed sedition, which the authority of the Emperor was not able to restrain." These jealousies were inflamed, and more were added by Sejanus; one who was well skilled in the temper of Tiberius, and purposely furnished him with sources of hatred, to lie hid in his heart, and be discharged with increase hereafter.

Germanicus, in order to lighten the ships in which he had embarked his men, and fit their burden to the ebbs and shallows, delivered the second and fourteenth Legions to Publius Vitellius, to lead them by land. Vitellius, at first, had an easy march on dry ground, or ground moderately overflowed by the tide; when suddenly the fury of the north wind swelling the ocean (a constant effect of the equinox) the Legions were surrounded and tossed with the tide,

tide, and the land was all on flood; the sea, the shore, the fields, had the same tempestuous face; no distinction of depths from shallows; none of firm from deceitful footing; they were overturned by the billows; swallowed down by the eddies; and horses, baggage, and drowned men encountered each other, and floated together. The several companies were mixed at random by the waves; they waded now breast-high; now up to their chin; and as the ground failed them, they fell, some never more to rise. The cries and mutual encouragements availed them nothing against the prevailing and inexorable waves; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wise and the foolish; none between circumspection and chance; but all were equally involved in the invincible violence of the flood. Vitellius, at length, struggling into an eminence, drew the Legions thither, where they passed the cold night without fire, and destitute of every convenience; most of them naked, or lamed, not less miserable than men inclosed by an enemy for even to such remained the consolation of an honourable death; but here was destruction, every way void of glory. The land returned with the day, and they marched to the river Vidrus, whither Germanicus had gone with the fleet. There the two Legions were again embarked, when fame had given them for drowned; nor was their escape believed, till Germanicus and the army were seen to return.

Sertorius, who in the mean while had been sent before to receive Segimerus, the brother of Segestes (a Prince willing to surrender himself) brought him and his son to the city of the Ubians: both were pardoned; the father freely, the son with more difficulty; because he was said to have insulted the corps of Varus. For the rest, Spain, Italy, and both the Gauls strove with emulation to supply the losses of the army; and offered arms, horses, money

according

according as each abounded. Germanicus applauded their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms, for the service of the war: with his own money he relieved the necessities of the soldiers; and to soften also by his kindness the memory of the late havock, he visited the wounded, extolled the exploits of particulars, viewed their wounds; with hopes encouraged some; with a sense of glory animated others; and by affability and tenderness confirmed them all in devotion to himself, and to his fortune in war.

The ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their services under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often offered by the People to Tiberius, was rejected by him: nor would he permit swearing upon his acts, though the same was voted by the Senate. Against it he urged the instability of all mortal things; and that the higher he was raised, the more slippery he stood. But for all this ostentation of a popular spirit, he acquired not the reputation of possessing it. For he had revived the law concerning violated majesty; a law which in the days of our ancestors, had indeed the same name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely those against the State; as when an army was betrayed abroad, when seditions were raised at home; in short, when the public was faithlessly administered, and the majesty of the Roman people was debased. These were actions, and actions were punished, but words were free. Augustus was the first who brought libels under the penalties of this wrested law, incensed as he was by the insolence of Cassius Severus, who had in his writings wantonly defamed men and ladies of illustrious quality. Tiberius too, afterwards, when Pompeius Macer, the Prætor, consulted him, 'whether their process should be granted upon this law?' answered,

answered, ' that the laws must be executed.' He also was exasperated by satirical verses written by unknown authors, and dispersed; exposing his cruelty, his pride, and his mind unnaturally alienated from his mother.

It will be worth while to relate here the pretended crimes charged upon Falanius and Rubrius, two Roman knights of small fortunes; that hence may be seen from what beginnings, and by how much dark art of Tiberius, this grievous mischief crept in; how it was again restrained ^a; how at last it blazed out and consumed all things ^b. To Falanius was objected by his accusers, that ' amongst the adorers of Augustus, who went in fraternities from house to house, he had admitted one Cassius, a mimic and prostitute; and having sold his gardens, had likewise with them sold the statue of Augustus.' The crime imputed to Rubrius was, that he had sworn falsely by the divinity of Augustus. When these accusations were known to Tiberius, he wrote to the Consuls, ' that Heaven was not therefore decreed to his father, that the worship of him might be a snare to the citizens of Rome; that Cassius the player was wont to assist with others of his profession at the interludes consecrated by his mother to the memory of Augustus: neither did it affect religion, that his effigies, like other images of the Gods, was comprehended in the sale of houses and gardens. As to the false swearing by his name, it was to be deemed the same as if Rubrius had profaned the name of Jupiter; but to the Gods belonged the avenging of injuries done to the Gods.'

Not long after, Granius Marcellus, Prætor of Bythinia, was charged with high treason by his

^a Under that excellent Prince Titus.

^b Under that terrible tyrant Domitian.

own Quæstor Cepio Crispinus; Romanus Hispo, the pleader, supporting the charge. This Cepio began a course of life, which, through the miseries of the times and the bold wickedness of men, became afterwards famous. At first, needy and obscure, but of busy spirit, he made court to the cruelty of the prince by occult informations; and presently, as an open accuser, grew terrible to every distinguished Roman. This procured him credit with one, hatred from all, and made a precedent, to be followed by others, who from poverty became rich; from being contemned, dreadful; and in the destruction which they brought upon others, found at last their own. He accused Marcellus of malignant words concerning Tiberius; an inevitable crime! when the accuser, collecting all the most detestable parts of the Prince's character, alleged them as the expressions of the accused: for, because they were true, they were believed to have been spoken. To this Hispo added, 'that the statue of Marcellus was by him placed higher than those of the Cæsars; and that, having cut off the head of Augustus, he had in the room of it set the head of Tiberius.' This enraged him so, that breaking silence, he cried, 'he would himself, in this cause, give his vote explicitly, and under the tie of an oath.' By this he meant to force the assent of the rest of the Senate. There remained even then some faint traces of expiring liberty. Hence Cneius Piso asked him; 'In what place, Cæsar, will you chuse to give your opinion? If first, I shall have your example to follow: if last, I fear I may ignorantly dissent from you.' The words pierced him, but he bore them, the rather as he was ashamed of his unwary transport; and he suffered the accused to be acquitted of high treason. To try him for the public money, was referred to the proper judges.

Nor

Nor sufficed it Tiberius to assist in the deliberations of the Senate only: he likewise sat in the seats of justice; but always on one side, because he would not dispossess the Prætor of his chair, and by his presence there, many ordinances were established against the intrigues and solicitations of the grandees. But while private justice was thus promoted, public liberty was likewise overthrown. About this time Pius Aurelius the Senator, whose house, yielding to the pressure of the public roads and aqueducts, had fallen, complained to the Senate and prayed relief; a suit opposed by the Prætor who managed the treasury: but he was relieved by Tiberius, who ordered him the price of his house, for he was fond of being liberal upon honest occasions; a virtue which he long retained, even after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. Upon Propertius Celer, once Prætor, but now desiring leave to resign the dignity of Senator, as a burden to his poverty, he bestowed a thousand great sesterces* upon ample information that Celer's necessities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the same thing, he ordered to lay their condition before the Senate; and from an affectation of severity was thus austere, even where he acted with uprightness. Hence the rest preferred poverty and silence to begging and relief.

The same year the Tiber, being swelled with continual rains, overflowed the level parts of the city; and the common destruction of men and houses followed the returning flood. Hence Asinius Gallus moved, 'that the Sibylline Books might be consulted.' Tiberius opposed it, equally smothering all inquiries whatsoever, whether into matters human or divine. To Ateius Capito, however, and Lucius Arruntius, was committed the

* About five and twenty thousand Crowns.

care of restraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their public burdens, were for the present discharged of their proconsular government, and subjected to the Emperor's Lieutenants. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, Drusus presided: it was exhibited in the name of Germanicus, and his own; and at it he manifested too much lust of blood, even of the blood of slaves: a quality terrible to the populace; and hence his father was said to have reprov'd him. His own absence from these shows, was variously construed; by some ascribed to his impatience of a crowd; by others to his reserved and solitary genius, and his fear of an unequal comparison with Augustus, who was wont to be a cheerful spectator there. But, that he thus purposely furnished matter for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising him popular hate, is what I would not believe; though this too was asserted.

The dissensions of the theatre, begun last year, broke out now more violently, with the slaughter of several, not of the people only, but of the soldiers, with that of a Centurion: nay, a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort was wounded, whilst they were securing the magistrates from insults, and quelling the licentiousness of the rabble. This riot was canvass'd in the Senate, and votes were passing for empowering the Prætors to whip the players. Haterius Agrippa, Tribune of the People, oppos'd it; and was sharply reprimanded by a speech of Asinius Gallus. Tiberius was silent, and to the Senate allowed these empty apparitions of liberty. The opposition, however, prevail'd, in reverence to the authority of Augustus, who, upon a certain occasion, had given his judgment, 'that players were exempt from stripes:' nor would Tiberius assume to violate any words of his. To limit the wages of players, and to restrain the licentiousness of

of their partizans, many decrees were made: the most remarkable were, ‘that no Senator should enter the house of a Pantomime; no Roman Knight attend them abroad; they should shew no where but in the theatre; and the Prætors should have power to punish with exile any insolence in the spectators.’

The Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to Augustus, in the colony of Terragon; an example for all the provinces to follow. In answer to the People, who prayed to be relieved from the *Centesima*, a tax of one in the hundred, established at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; Tiberius by an edict declared, ‘that upon this tax depended the fund for maintaining the army: Nor even thus was the Commonwealth equal to the expence, if the Veterans were dismissed before their twentieth year.’ So that the concessions made them during the late sedition, to discharge them finally at the end of sixteen years, as they were made through necessity, were for the future abolished.

It was next proposed to the Senate, by Arruntius and Ateius, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, the channels of the several rivers and lakes by which it was swelled, must not be diverted? Upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought, ‘that the bed of the Clanis might not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the same would prove their utter ruin.’ The like plea was urged by the Interamnates; ‘since the most fruitful plains in Italy would be lost, if, according to the project, the Nar, branched out into rivulets, overflowed them.’ Nor were the Reatinians less earnest against stopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; ‘otherwise, they said, it would break over its banks, and stagnate

all the adjacent country : the direction of nature was best in all natural things : it was she that had appointed to rivers their courses and discharges, and set them their limits as well as their sources. Regard too was to be paid to the religion of our Latin allies, who, esteeming the rivers of their country sacred, had to them dedicated priests, and altars, and groves. Nay, the Tiber himself, when bereft of his auxiliary streams, would flow with diminished grandeur.' Now, whether it were that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of superstition prevailed ; it is certain, the opinion of Piso was followed, that nothing should be altered.

To Poppeus Sabinus was continued his province of Mœsia ; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This too was part of the politics of Tiberius, to prolong governments, and maintain the same men in the same armies, or civil employments, for the most part, to the end of their lives ; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, ' that from an impatience of returning cares, he was for making, whatever he once liked, perpetual.' Others, ' that from the malignity of his invidious nature, he regretted the preferring of many.' There are some who believe, ' that as he had a crafty penetrating spirit, so he had an understanding ever irresolute and perplexed.' So much is certain, that he never courted any eminent virtue, yet hated vice : from the best men he dreaded danger to himself ; and disgrace to the public from the worst. This hesitation mastered him so much at last, that he committed foreign governments to some, whom he meant never to suffer to leave Rome.

Concerning the management of consular elections, either then, or afterwards, under Tiberius, I can affirm scarce any thing : such is the variance about

it, not only amongst historians, but even in his own speeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he described them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns; so as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to describe them, he exhorted the candidates, not to disturb the election by their intrigues, and promised himself to take care of their interests. But chiefly, he used to declare, ‘ that to
‘ him none had signified their pretensions, but such
‘ whose names he had delivered to the Consuls;
‘ others too were at liberty to offer the like pretensions, if they trusted to the favour of the Senate,
‘ or their own merits.’ Specious words! but entirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guise of liberty, by so much threatening a more hasty and devouring bondage.

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THE
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TACITUS.
BOOK II.

The SUMMARY.

Commutations in the East. Venones King of the Parthians, his expulsion by Artabanus, and flight to Armenia, where he is chosen King, but dethroned by Silanus at the motion of Artabanus. Tiberius designs to send Germanicus to the East, under feigned pretences. The exploits of the latter in Germany; he builds a fleet, defeats and ravages many nations there; and routs Arminius in a great battle. The misfortune of his fleet in a tempest. The remarkable accusation, trial, and violent death of Libo Drusus, charged with designs against the state. The poverty of M. Hortalus, grandson of the famous orator Hortensius; he applies for relief to the Senate; Tiberius opposes him, but complies with the inclination of the Fathers to assist him. A counterfeited Agrippa Postumus raises great alarms, but is detected to have been one of his slaves, and put to death. The triumph

triumph of Germanicus over several nations in Germany. The story and death of King Archelaus: His Kingdom reduced into a Roman province. The contumacious behaviour of Cneius Piso and his wife Plancina to Germanicus in the East, supposed to be encouraged by Tiberius and his mother. Drusus, the Emperor's son, sent into Illyricum, and why. A great battle between Arminius and Maroboduus, two German Chiefs: The former conquers. Twelve noble cities in Asia destroyed by an earthquake. Tacfarinas, first a common soldier, then a robber, raises a war in Africa. The success of Camillus, the Proconsul, against him. Germanicus enters Armenia, and establishes Zeno King there. Drusus encourages dissensions amongst the German nations. Maroboduus, exterminated by Catualda, flies into Italy, and continues there. Catualda suffers the like fate. War between two Kings of Thrace composed by seizing the aggressor. Germanicus visits Egypt, and views the antiquities there; returns to Asia, is insulted by Piso, sickens and dies: His amiable character: Suspicions about the cause of his death. Piso tries to gain the supreme command; is successfully opposed by the friends of Germanicus, and retires. Numerous honours decreed at Rome to Germanicus. Laws to restrain the lubricity of women. A new Vestal Virgin chosen in the place of Occia deceased. Arminius fraudulently slain in Germany. His eminent character.

DURING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus, and Lucius Libo, the Kingdoms and Roman provinces of the east were involved in war, begun by the Parthians who having fought and accepted a King from Rome, did afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arsacides, condemn him as a foreigner. This was Venones, who had been given as an hostage

to Augustus by Phraates. For Phraates, though he had defeated the Roman captains and armies, yet had courted Augustus with all the reverence of a dependent, and sent him, to bind their friendship, part of his offspring; not so much through fear of the Romans, as distrusting the ill faith of the Parthians.

After the death of Phraates, and the succeeding Kings, ambassadors from the chief men of Parthia arrived at Rome, to call home Venones his eldest son, in order to end their intestine slaughters. Tiberius found his own grandeur and glory in this embassy, and dismissed him with great pomp and presents. The Barbarians too received him with rapture and exultation; a spirit which commonly animates the people, where their governors are yet new and untried. But shame soon succeeded; shame ' for the degeneracy of the Parthians, to ' have thus sent to another world for a King, one ' debauched with the manners and maxims of their ' enemies. The imperial throne of the Arsacides, ' they said, was now deemed and given as a Roman ' province. Where was the glory of those brave ' Parthians who slew Crassus, of those who extir- ' minated Mark Anthony; if they were reduced so ' low as to receive for the Lord of Parthia a slave ' of Cæsar's, inured so many years to foreign bon- ' dage?' His own behaviour inflamed their disdain: he abandoned the customs of his ancestors; was seldom in the chace; took small delight in horses, travelled luxuriously through their towns in a litter, and despised the Parthians feasts. They ridiculed his Greek attendants, and the mean care of sealing up his domestic moveables with his signet. But his easiness of access, his flowing courtesy (virtues unknown to the Parthians) were to them so many new vices; and every part of his manners, the
E 3 laudable

laudable and the bad, were subject to equal hatred because foreign from their own.

They therefore sent for Artabanus, of the blood of the Arsacides, bred amongst the Dahans. In the first engagement he was routed, but repaired his forces and gained the Kingdom. The vanquished Venones found a retreat in Armenia, a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the neighbouring powers of Parthia and of Rome: from us they were alienated by the fraud and iniquity of Mark Anthony, who having by shews and professions of friendship, ensnared into his power Artavasdes, King of the Armenians, loaded him with chains, and at last put him to death. Artaxias, his son, for his father's sake, hating us, defended himself and his Kingdom by the protection and forces of the Arsacides. Artaxias being slain by a conspiracy of his kindred, Tigranes was by Augustus set over the Armenians, and by Tiberius Nero put in possession of the Kingdom. But neither was the reign of Tigranes lasting, nor that of his children, however associated together, according to the mode and politics of the East, by the double ties of marriage and government. Artavasdes was next established, by the appointment of Augustus, and then expelled; but at great expense of Roman blood.

Caius Cæsar was then chosen to settle Armenia. By him Ariobarzanes, by descent a Mede, was for his graceful person and eminent endowments placed over the Armenians, with their own consent. Ariobarzanes being killed by an accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman, (her name Erato) and quickly expelled her. After this, unsettled and wavering, rather exempt from tyranny, than possessed of liberty, they received the fugitive Venones

for their King : but anon, when he saw himself threatened by Artabanus, small reliance on the Armenians, and no protection from the Romans without a war with the Parthians, he accepted the offer of Creticus Silanus, Governor of Syria, who invited him thither ; but when he came, set a guard upon him ; leaving him still the name and luxury of royalty. What attempts Venones made to escape from this mock-majesty, we will relate in its place.

The commotions in the East happened not ungratefully to Tiberius, since thence he had a colour for separating Germanicus from his old and faithful Legions, for setting him over strange provinces, and exposing him at once to casual perils and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent he found the affections of the soldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much the more intent upon a decisive victory, weighed with himself all the methods of that war, with all the disasters and successes which had befallen him in it to this his third year. He remember'd, ' that the Germans were ever routed in a fair battle, and upon equal ground ; that woods and bogs, short summers, and early winters, were their chief resources ; that his own men suffered not so much from their wounds, as from tedious marches, and the loss of their arms. The Gauls were weary of furnishing horses ; long and cumberfom was his train of baggage, easily surprized, and with difficulty defended. But, if he entered the country by sea, the invasion would be easy, and the enemy unapprized : besides, the war would be earlier begun ; the Legions and provisions would be carried together, and the cavalry brought with safety, through the mouths and channels of the rivers, into the heart of Germany.'

On that method therefore he fixed. Whilst Publius Vitellius and Publius Cantius were sent to collect the tribute of the Gauls; Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina, had the direction of building the fleet. A thousand vessels were thought sufficient, and with dispatch finished: some were short, sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, the easier to endure the agitations of the waves; some had flat bottoms that without damage they might bear to run aground: several had helms at each end, that by suddenly turning the oars only, they might work either way. Many were arched over, for carrying the engines of war. They were fitted for holding horses and provisions, to fly with sails, to run with oars; and the spirit and alacrity of the soldiers heightened the shew and terror of the fleet. They were to meet at the Isle of Batavia, which was chosen for its easy landing, for its convenience to receive the forces, and thence to transport them to the war. For the Rhine flowing in one continual channel, or only broken by small islands, is, at the extremity of Batavia, divided, as it were, into two rivers; one running still through Germany, and retaining the same name and violent current, till it mixes with the ocean; the other washing the Gallic shore, with a broader and more gentle stream, is by the inhabitants called by another name, the Wahal, which it soon after changes for that of the Meuse, by whose immense mouth it is discharged into the same ocean.

While the fleet sailed, Germanicus commanded Silius his Lieutenant, with a flying band to invade the Cattians; and he himself, upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged, led his Legions thither. But the sudden rains prevented Silius from doing more than taking some small plunder, with the wife and daughter of Arpus, Prince

of the Cattians ; nor did the besiegers stay to fight Germanicus, but upon the report of his approach, stole off, and dispersed. As they had, however, thrown down the common tomb lately raised over the Varian Legions, and the old altar erected to Drusus ; he restored the altar, and performed in person with the Legions, the funeral ceremony of running courses to the honour of his father. To replace the tomb was not thought fit ; but, all the space between fort Aliso and the Rhine, he fortified with a new barrier.

The fleet was now arrived ; the provisions were sent forward ; ships were assigned to the Legions and the allies ; and he entered the canal cut by Drusus, and called by his name. Here he invoked his father, ‘ to be propitious to his son attempting the same enterprizes, to inspire him with the same counsels, and animate him by his example.” Hence he sailed successfully through the lakes and the ocean to the river Amisia. At the town of Amisia the fleet was left, upon the left shore, and it was a fault that it sailed no higher ; for he landed the army on the right shore ; so that in making bridges many days were consumed. The horse and the Legions passed over without danger, as it was yet ebb ; but the returning tide disordered the rear, especially the Batavians, while they played with the waves, and shewed their dexterity in swimming ; and some were drowned. Whilst Germanicus was incamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him ; and thither he dispatched a body of horse and light foot, under Stertinius, who with fire and slaughter took vengeance on the perfidious revoltors.

Between the Romans and the Cheruskans flowed the river Visurgis, and on the banks of it stood Arminius, with the other chiefs. He inquired whether Germanicus was come ; and being answer-

ed that he was there, he prayed leave to speak with his brother. This brother of his was in the army, his name Flavius, one remarkable for his lasting faith towards the Romans, and for the loss of an eye in the war under Tiberius. This request was granted. Flavius stepped forward, and was saluted by Arminius, who having removed his own attendants, desired that our archers, ranged upon the opposite banks, might retire. When they were withdrawn, 'How came you (says he to his brother) by that deformity in your face?' The brother having informed him where, and in what fight, was next asked, 'what reward he had received?' Flavius answered, 'Increase of pay, the chain, crown, and other military gifts;' all which Arminius treated with derision, as the vile wages of servitude.

Here began a warm contest. Flavius pleaded 'the grandeur of the Roman Empire, the power of the Emperor, the Roman clemency to submitting nations; the heavy yoke of the vanquished; and that neither the wife, nor son of Arminius, was used like a captive.' Arminius to all this opposed 'the natural rights of their country, their ancient liberty; the domestic Gods of Germany; he urged the prayers of their common mother joined to his own, that he would not prefer the character of a deserter, that of a betrayer of his family, his countrymen and kindred, to the glory of being their commander.' By degrees they fell into reproaches; nor would the interposition of the river have restrained them from blows, had not Stertinius hastened to lay hold on Flavius, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite side was seen Arminius, swelling with ferocity and threats, and denouncing battle. For, of what he said, much was said in Latin; since, as the General of his countrymen,

countrymen, he had served in the Roman armies.

Next day, the German army stood embattled beyond the Visurgis. Germanicus, who thought he became not a General to endanger the Legions, and for their passage and security, he had placed bridges and guards, made the horse ford over. They were led by Stertinius, and by Æmilius Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion: and these two officers crossed the river in distant places, to divide the foe. Cariovalda, Captain of the Batavians, passed it where most rapid, and was by the Cheruscans, who designed flight, drawn into a plain surrounded with woods, whence they rushed out upon him and assaulted him on every side; overthrow those who resisted, and pressed vehemently upon those who gave way. The distressed Batavians formed themselves into a ring, but were again broken, partly by a close assault, partly by distant showers of darts. Cariovalda, having long sustained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to draw up in platoons, and break through the prevailing host; he himself forced his way into their center, and fell with his horse under a shower of darts, and many of the principal Batavians round him: the rest were saved by their own bravery, or rescued by the cavalry under Stertinius and Æmilius.

Germanicus, having passed the Visurgis, learnt from a deserter, that Arminius had marked out the place of battle; that more nations had also joined him; that they rendezvoused in a wood sacred to Hercules, and would attempt to storm our camp by night. The deserter was believed; the enemy's fires were discerned; and the scouts having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horses, and the hollow murmur of a mighty and tumultuous host. In this important conjuncture, upon the approach of a decisive battle,

Germanicus thought it behoved him to learn the inclinations and spirit of the soldiers, and deliberated with himself how to be informed without fraud :
' for the reports of the Tribunes and Centurions
' used to be oftener pleasing than true ; his freed-
' men had still slavish souls, incapable of free speech ;
' friends were apt to flatter ; there was the same
' uncertainty in an assembly, where the counsel
' proposed by a few, was wont to be echoed by all.
' The minds of the soldiery were then best known
' when they were least watched ; when free and
' over their meals, they frankly disclosed their hopes
' and fears.'

In the beginning of night, he went out at the augural gate, with a single attendant ; himself disguised with the skin of a wild beast hanging over his shoulders ; and chusing secret ways, he escaped the notice of the watch, entered the lanes of the camp, listened from tent to tent, and enjoyed the pleasing display of his own popularity and fame ; as one was magnifying the imperial birth of his General ; another his graceful person ; all, his patience, condescension, and the equality of his soul in every temper, pleasant or grave. They confessed the gratitude due to so much merit, and that in battle they ought to express it, and to sacrifice at the same time to glory and revenge, these perfidious Germans, who for ever violated stipulations and peace. In the mean time, one of the enemy who understood Latin, rode up to the palisades, and with a loud voice, offered in the name of Arminius, to every deserter a wife and land, and, as long as the war lasted, an hundred sesterces a day. This contumely kindled the wrath of the Legions : ' Let
' day come, they cried, let battle be given. The
' soldiers would seize and not accept the lands of
' the Germans ; take and not receive German
' wives ; they, however, received the offer as an
' omen

omen of victory, and considered the money and women as their destined prey.' Near the third watch of the night, they approached, and insulted the camp, but without striking a blow, when they found the ramparts covered thick with cohorts, and no advantage given.

Germanicus had the same night a joyful dream : he thought he sacrificed, and, in place of his own robe besmeared with the sacred blood, received one fairer from the hands of his grandmother Augusta ; so that elevated by the omen, and by equal encouragement from the auspices, he called an assembly, where he opened his deliberations concerning the approaching battle, with all the advantages contributing to victory ; ' That to the Roman soldiers, not only plains and dales, but, with due circumspection, even woods and forests were commodious places for an engagement. The huge targets, the enormous spears of the Barbarians, could never be wielded amongst thickets and trunks of trees, like Roman swords and javelins, and armour adjusted to the shape and size of their bodies ; so that with these tractable arms they might thicken their blows, and strike with certainty at the naked faces of the enemy ; since the Germans were neither furnished with head-piece nor coat of mail ; nor were their bucklers bound with leather, or fortified with iron, but all bare basket-work, or painted boards ; and though their first ranks were armed with pikes, the rest had only stakes burnt at the end, or short and contemptible darts. For their persons, as they were terrible to fight, and violent in the onset, so they were utterly impatient of wounds, unaffected with their own disgrace, unconcerned for the honour of their General, whom they ever deserted, and fled ; in distress cowards, in prosperity despisers of all divine, of all human laws. To conclude, if the
' army,

‘ army, after their fatigues at sea, and their tedious
‘ marches by land, longed for an utter end of their
‘ labour ; by this battle they might gain it. The Elbe
‘ was now nearer than the Rhine ; and if they
‘ would make him a conqueror in those countries
‘ where his father and his uncle had conquered, the
‘ war was concluded.’ The ardour of the soldiers
followed the speech of the General, and the signal
for the onset was given.

Neither did Arminius, or the other Chiefs, neglect to declare to their several bands, that ‘ these
‘ Romans were the cowardly fugitives of the Varian
‘ army, who, because they could not endure to
‘ fight, had afterwards chosen to rebel : that some
‘ with backs deformed by wounds ; some with limbs
‘ maimed by tempests ; forsaken of hope, and the
‘ Gods against them, were once more presenting
‘ their lives to their vengeful foes. Hitherto a fleet,
‘ and unfrequented seas, had been the resources of
‘ their cowardice against an assaulting or a pursuing
‘ enemy ; but now that they were to engage hand
‘ to hand, vain would be their relief from wind
‘ and oars after a defeat. The Germans needed
‘ only remember their rapine, cruelty, and pride ;
‘ and that to themselves nothing remained, but
‘ either to maintain their native liberty, or by death
‘ to prevent bondage.’

The enemy thus inflamed, and calling for battle, were led into a plain called Idistavisus : it lies between the Visurgis and the hills, and winds unequally along, as it is streightened by the swellings of the mountains, or enlarged by the circuits of the river. Behind rose a forest of high trees, thick of branches above, but clear of bushes below. The army of Barbarians kept the plain, and the entrances of the forest ; only the Cheruscans sat down upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, as soon as they became engaged.

in the fight. Our army marched thus; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four Legions, then Germanicus with two Prætorian Cohorts, and the choice of the cavalry; then four Legions more, and the light foot with archers on horseback, and the other troops of the allies; the men all careful to march in order of battle, and ready to engage as they marched.

As the impatient bands of Cherusicans were now perceived descending fiercely from the hills, Germanicus commanded a body of the best horse to charge them in the flank, and Stertinius with the rest to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promised to be ready to assist them in person. During this a joyful omen appeared; eight eagles were seen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it; a presage of victory to the General! Advance, he cried, follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar Deities of the Legions.' Instantly the foot charged the enemies front, and instantly the detached cavalry attacked their flank and rear. This double assault had a strange event; the two divisions of their army fled opposite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain; that in the plain rushed into the woods. The Cherusicans between both, were driven from the hills, amongst them Arminius remarkably brave, who with his hand, his voice, and distinguished wounds, was still sustaining the fight. He had assaulted the archers, and would have broken through them; but the cohorts of the Retians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, marched to their relief: however, by his own spirit, and the vigour of his horse, he escaped; his face smeared with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related, that the Chaucians, who were amongst the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go. The same bravery, or deceit, procured Siquomerus his escape: the rest were every where slain;

slain; and great numbers attempting to swim the Visurgis, were destroyed in it, either pursued with darts, or swallowed by the current, or overwhelmed with the weight of the crowd, or buried under the falling banks. Some seeking a base refuge on the tops of trees, and concealment amongst the branches, were shot in sport by the archers, or squashed as the trees were felled. This was a mighty victory, and to us far from bloody!

This slaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, filled the country for ten miles with carcasses and arms. Amongst the spoils, chains were found, which, sure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The soldiers proclaimed *Tiberius Imperator* upon the field of battle, and, raising a mount, placed upon it as Trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquished nations, inscribed below.

This sight filled the Germans with more anguish and rage, than all their wounds, past afflictions and slaughters. They, who were just prepared to abandon their dwellings, and sit beyond the Elb, meditate war and grasp their arms. People, nobles, youth, aged, from all quarters, rush suddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and disorder it.

They next chose their camp, a streight and moist plain, shut in between a river and a forest; the forest too surrounded with a deep marsh, except on one side, which was closed with a barrier raised by the Angrivarians, between them and the Cherusians. Here stood their foot: their horse were distributed and concealed amongst the neighbouring groves, thence, by surprize, to beset the Legions in the rear, as soon as they had entered the wood.

Nothing of all this was a secret to Germanicus: he knew their counsels, their stations; what steps they pursued, what measures they concealed; and to the destruction of the enemy turned their own

subtily

subtilty and devices. To Seius Tubero, his Lieutenant, he committed the horse and the field; the infantry he so disposed, that part might pass the level approaches into the wood; and the rest force the rampart. This was the most arduous task, and to himself he reserved it: the rest he left to his Lieutenants. Those who had the even ground to traverse, broke easily in; but they who were to assail the rampart, were as grievously battered from above, as if they had been storming a wall. The General perceived the inequality of this close attack, and drawing off the Legions a small distance, ordered the slingers to throw, and the engineers to play, to beat off the enemy. Immediately showers of darts were poured from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more bold and exposed they were, with the more wounds they were beaten down. Germanicus, having taken the rampart, first forced his way, at the head of the Prætorian Cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot. Behind, the enemy were begirt with the morass; the Romans with the mountains, or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour, no safety but in victory.

The Germans had not inferior courage, but they were exceeded in the fashion of arms and art of fighting. Their mighty multitude, hampered in narrow places, could not push nor recover their long spears; nor practise in a close combat, their usual boundings and velocity of limbs. On the contrary, our soldiers, with handy swords, and their breasts closely guarded with a buckler, delved the large bodies and naked faces of the Barbarians, and opened themselves a way with a havock of the enemy. Besides, the activity of Arminius now failed him; either spent through his continual efforts, or slackened by a wound just received. Inguimerus, was every where upon the spur, animating the

battle:

battle : but fortune, rather than courage, deserted him. Germanicus, to be the easier known, pulled off his helmet, and exhorted his men, ' to prosecute the slaughter ; they wanted no captives, he said ; only the cutting off that people root and branch, would put an end to the war.' It was now late in the day, and he drew off a Legion to make a camp ; the rest glutted themselves till night with the blood of the foe. The horse fought with doubtful success.

Germanicus, in a speech from the tribunal, praised his victorious army, and raised a monument of arms, with a proud Inscription, " That the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having vanquished intirely the nations between the Rhine and the Elb, had consecrated that monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and to Augustus." Of himself he made no mention, either fearful of provoking envy, or that he thought it sufficient praise to have deserved it. He had next commanded Stertinius, to carry the war amongst the Angrivarians ; but they instantly submitted, and these supplicants, by yielding without articles, obtained pardon without reserve.

The summer now declining, some of the Legions were sent back into winter-quarters, by land ; more were embarked with Germanicus, upon the river Amisia, to go from thence by the ocean. The sea, at first, was serene, no sound or agitation, except from the oars or sails of a thousand ships ; but, suddenly a black host of clouds poured a storm of hail ; furious winds roared on every side, and the tempest darkened the deep, so that all prospect was lost ; and it was impossible to steer. The soldiers too, unaccustomed to the terrors of the sea, in the hurry of fear disordered the mariners, or interrupted the skilful by unskilful help. At last, the south-wind mastering all the rest, drove the ocean and the sky. The tempest derived new force from the

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windy mountains and swelling rivers of Germany,
 as well as from an immense train of clouds; and
 contracting withal fresh vigour from the boisterous
 neighbourhood of the north, it hurled the ships, and
 tossed them into the open ocean, or against islands
 strewed with sharp rocks, or dangerously beset with
 covered shoals. The ships, by degrees, with great
 labour, and the change of the tide, were relieved
 from the rocks and sands, but remained at the
 mercy of the winds; their anchors could not hold
 them; they were full of water, nor could all their
 pumps discharge it; hence, to lighten and raise the
 vessels swallowing at their decks the invading waves,
 the horses, beasts, baggage, and even the arms,
 were cast into the deep.

By how much the German ocean is more out-
 rageous than the rest of the sea, and the German
 climate excels in rigour, by so much this ruin was
 reckoned to exceed in greatness and novelty. They
 were engaged in a tempestuous sea, believed deep
 without bottom, vast without bounds, or no shores
 near but hostile shores. Part of the fleet were swal-
 lowed up; many were driven upon remote islands,
 void of human culture, where the men perished
 through famine, or were kept alive by the carcasses
 of horses, cast in by the flood. Only the galley of
 Germanicus landed upon the coast of the Chaucians,
 there, wandering sadly, day and night, upon the
 rocks and prominent shore, and incessantly accusing
 himself as the author of such mighty destruction, he
 was hardly restrained by his friends, from casting
 himself desperately into the same hostile floods. At
 last, with the returning tide, and an assisting gale,
 the ships began to return, all maimed, almost desti-
 tute of oars, or with coats spread for sails; and,
 some utterly disabled, were dragged by those that
 were less. He repaired them hastily, and dispatched
 them to search the islands; and by this care many
 men

men were gleaned up, many were by the Angles, our new subjects, redeemed from their maritime neighbours, and restored; and some, driven into Great Britain, were sent back by the little British Kings. Those who had come from abroad recounted wonders at their return, 'the impetuous
' of whirlwinds; wonderful birds; sea-monsters
' ambiguous forms between man and beast
strange sights; or the effects of imagination and fear.

The noise of this wreck, as it animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war, awakened Germanicus also to restrain them. He commanded Caius Silius, with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to march against the Cattians; himself, with a greater force, invaded the Marston, where he learnt from Maloventus, their General lately taken into our subjection, that the Eagle, one of Varus's Legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a slender guard. Instantly two parties were dispatched; one, to find the enemy, and provoke them from their post; the other to beset their rear, and dig up the Eagle; and success attended both. Hence Germanicus advanced with greater alacrity, laid waste the country, and smote the foe, either not daring to engage, or wherever they engaged, suddenly defeated; nor, as we learnt from the prisoners, were they ever seized with greater dismay. 'The Romans, they cry
' are invincible; no calamities can subdue them
' They have wrecked their fleet; their arms
' lost, our shores are covered with the bodies
' their horses and men: Yet they attack us with
' their usual ferocity, with the same firmness,
' with numbers, as it were, increased.'

The army was from thence led back into winter quarters, full of joy to have balanced, by this prosperous expedition, their late misfortunes at sea, and by the bounty of Germanicus, their joy was heightened

Book II. frightened, since to each sufferer he caused to be
 as much as each declared he had lost ; neither
 as it doubted but the enemy were humbled, and
 concerting measures for obtaining peace, and that
 the next summer would terminate the war. But
 Tiberius, by frequent letters urged him ' to come
 home, there to celebrate the triumph already de-
 creed him ; he had already tried enough of events,
 and tempted abundant hazards. He had indeed
 fought great and successful battles ; but he must
 likewise remember his losses and calamities, which,
 however owing to wind and waves, and no fault
 of the General, were yet great and grievous. He
 himself had been sent nine times into Germany by
 Augustus, and effected much more by policy than
 arms : it was thus he had brought the Sigambrians
 into subjection, thus drawn the Suevians, and
 King Maroboduus, under the bonds of peace.
 The Cheruscans too, and the other hostile na-
 tions, now the Roman vengeance was satiated,
 might be left to pursue their own national feuds.'
 Germanicus besought one year to accomplish his
 conquest ; but Tiberius assailed his modesty with a
 new bait, and fresh importunity, by offering him
 another Consulship, for the administration of which
 he was to attend in person at Rome : he added,
 that if the war was still to be prosecuted, Ger-
 manicus should leave a field of glory to his brother
 Drusus, to whom there now remained no other ;
 since the Empire had no where a war to maintain
 but in Germany, and thence only Drusus could
 acquire the title of Imperator, and merit the
 triumphal laurel.' Germanicus persisted no longer,
 though he knew that this was all feigned and hollow,
 and saw himself invidiously torn away from a har-
 vest of ripe glory.

About this time, Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian
 family, was arraigned for meditating attempts
 against

against the State. And, because then first were devised those pestilent arts and impeachments, which for so many years devoured the Commonwealth, I will lay open with the more exactness the beginning, progress and issue of this affair. Firmius Catus the Senator, a close confident of Libo, traiterously misled that youth, unwary as he was, and easy to be ensnared, with specious delusions; engaged him to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the superstitious rites of Magicians, and the interpreters of dreams; and to flatter his hopes and ambition, was incessantly magnifying the nobility of his race; for that Pompey was 'his great grand-father, Scribonia 'once the wife of Augustus, his aunt, the Cæsar 'his kinsmen; and his house full of images; tempted him to luxury and borrowing; was associated with him in his debauches, surety for his debts, and all to accumulate more matter for crimes and evidence.

When he found himself furnished with store of witnesses, and amongst them some of Libo's slaves, who were also privy to the obnoxious conduct of their master, he sought admittance to the Emperor, having first by Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman Knight, intimate with Tiberius, represented to him Libo as a criminal, as also a detail of his crimes. Tiberius slighted not his information, but denied him access, 'for that the communication, he said, might be 'still managed by the same Flaccus.' In the meantime, he preferred Libo to the Prætorship, entertained him at his table, shewed no strangeness in his countenance, no resentment in his words (for deeply had he smothered his vengeance;) and, when he might have restrained all the dangerous speeches and practices of Libo, he chose rather to permit them, in order to know and punish them: nor were they checked or made public, till one Junius, who was dealt with to call up by charms the infernal

ernal shades, discovered this to Fulcinus Trio, a distinguished accuser, one greedy of renown in wickedness. Instantly Trio marked out the doom of the accused, hastened to the Consuls, and of them demanded that the Senate might meet and judge him. Thus the fathers were forthwith summoned, and even apprized, that 'upon an affair of mighty moment and horrible tendency to the State, they were to deliberate.'

Libo, the while, having changed his dress, went covered with mourning, from house to house, accompanied by Ladies of the noblest rank, and implored the mediation of his kindred, that they would protect him against impending ruin, and speak in his behalf. But every one of them declined his suit, each upon a different pretence; yet, in reality all from the same fear. The day the Senate sat for his trial, vanquished with dread and sinking under sickness; or, as some relate, feigning ill, he was borne in a litter to the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with suppliant hands and words, he accosted and strove to soften Tiberius, who received him with a countenance perfectly unmoved. It was the Emperor who next recited the charge against him, and the authors of the charge; but with such wary moderation, that he might seem neither to soften nor sharpen his crimes.

To Trio and Catus, two other accusers, Pontius Agrippa and Caius Vibius, joined themselves, and strove who should have the right to implead the accused. At last, when neither would yield, and Libo was come unprovided with a pleader, Vibius undertook to maintain distinctly the several heads of the charge, and produced articles so extravagant, that amongst the rest it was one, how Libo had consulted the fortune-tellers, 'whether he should ever be master of opulence sufficient to recover the great Appian road with money as far as

' Brun-

‘Brundisium.’ There were others of the same kind, foolish, chimerical, or (taken in tender sense) deserving pity. But there was one article formed upon a paper, containing the names of the Cæsars as well as those of some Senators, with mysterious characters, and malignant notes joined to them. This the accuser urged against Libo, written in his own hand. Libo denied it, and hence it was proposed to examine by torture his conscious slaves. But, seeing it was forbid by an ancient law of the Senate, to put servants to the question, in a trial touching the life of their master, the crafty Tiberius invented a new law, to elude the old, and ordered these slaves to be sold to the public steward, that, by this expedient, evidence against Libo might be racked from his servants without violating the law. In this state of despondency, Libo requested respite till the next day, and then returning to his own house, transmitted by his kinsman Publius Quirinus, his last prayers to the Emperor, who replied, that ‘he must make his request to the Senate.’

His house was in the mean time encompassed with a band of soldiers, who with studied noise and terror were filling all the court, on purpose to create certain attention and alarm, just when Libo sat down to the banquet, which, as the ultimate pleasure of his life he had prepared. But, then feeling agonies instead of pleasure, he called for a minister of death, successively grasped the hands of his slaves, and into them, by turns, strove to squeeze a sword. But they, as they trembled and shunned the sad task, through the hurry of fear and flight overturning the lamp that illuminated the table; in this ominous and tragical darkness, he gave himself two deadly stab in the bowels. As he groaned and fell, his freedmen sprang in, and the soldiers, seeing the slaughter perpetrated, retired. The charge against him was however

however pushed in the Senate, with the same unrelenting eagerness. Yet Tiberius vowed, 'that he would have interceded for his life, notwithstanding his treason, if he had not thus hastily died by his own hands.'

His estate was divided amongst his accusers; and those of them who bore the rank of Senators, were, without the regular way of election, preferred to prætorships. Then Cotta Messalinus proposed, that 'the image of Libo might not accompany the funerals of his posterity;' Cneius Lentulus, that none of the Scribonii should henceforth assume the surname of Drusus;' and at the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of thanksgiving were appointed. That 'gifts should be presented to Jupiter, to Mars, and to the Goddess Concord; and that the thirteenth of September, the day on which Libo slew himself, should be an established festival,' were the votes of Lucius Publius, of Asinius Gallus, of Papius Mutilus, and of Lucius Apronius. I have related the votes and sycophancy of these men, to shew that adulation is an inveterate evil in the state. Decrees of the Senate were likewise made for driving Astrologers and Magicians out of Italy; and one of the herd, Lucius Pituius, was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock. Publius Marcius, another, was by judgment of the Consuls, at the sound of trumpet, executed without the Esquiline Gate, according to the ancient form. Next time the Senate sat, long discourses against the luxury of the city were made by Quintus Haterius, a Consular, and by Octavius Fronto, formerly Prætor, and a law was passed 'against using a table-plate of solid gold; and against men's debasing themselves with gorgeous and effeminate silks.' Fronto went farther, and desired that the quantities of silver-plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of domestics, might be limited.

' limited.' For it was yet common for Senators
 to depart from the present debate, and offer,
 their advice, whatever they judged conducing to the
 interest of the Commonwealth. Against him it was
 argued by Asinius Gallus, ' that with the growth
 ' of the Empire, private riches were likewise grown
 ' and it was no new thing for citizens to live accord-
 ' ing to their conditions, but, indeed, agreeable
 ' the most primitive usage. The ancient Fabricii
 ' and the latter Scipios, having different wealth
 ' lived differently; but all suitably to the several
 ' stages of the Commonwealth. Public poverty was
 ' accompanied with domestic; but, when the State
 ' rose to such a height of magnificence, the mag-
 ' nificence of particulars rose too. As to plate, and
 ' train, and expence, there was no standard of
 ' excess or frugality, but from the fortunes of men.
 ' The law, indeed, had made a distinction between
 ' the fortunes of Senators and of Knights; not from
 ' any natural difference between them; but that those
 ' who excelled in place, rank, and civil pre-emi-
 ' nence, might excel too in other particulars, such
 ' as conduced to the health of the body, or to the
 ' peace and solacement of the soul; unless it were
 ' expected, that the most illustrious citizens should
 ' sustain the sharpest cares, and undergo the hea-
 ' viest fatigues and dangers, but continue destitute
 ' of every alleviation of fatigue, and danger, and
 ' care.' Gallus easily prevailed, whilst, under
 worthy names, he avowed and supported popular
 vices in an assembly engaged in them. Tiberius too
 had said, ' that it was not a season for reformation;
 ' or, if there were any corruption of manners, there
 ' would not be wanting one to correct them.'

During these transactions, Lucius Piso, after he
 had declaimed bitterly, in the Senate, against ' the
 ' cabals and intrigues of the Forum, the corrup-
 ' tion of the tribunals, and the inhumanity of the
 ' pleaders

pleaders breathing continual terror and impeachments,' declared, ' he would intirely relinquish Rome, and retire into a quiet corner of the country, far distant and obscure.' With these words he left the Senate. Tiberius was provoked ; and yet not only soothed him with gentle words, but likewise obliged Piso's relations, by their authority or entreaties to retain him. The same Piso soon after an equal instance of the indignation of a free spirit, by prosecuting a suit against Ulpia ; a Lady whom the partial friendship of Livia had set at defiance with the laws. Ulpia being carried, for protection, to the palace, resisted the efforts of Piso ; so that neither did she submit, nor would he desist, notwithstanding the complaints and resentments of Livia, that, in the prosecution, ' violence and indignity were done to her own person.' Tiberius promised to attend the trial, and assist Ulpia ; but only promised civility to his mother, for so far he thought it came him ; and thus left the palace, ordering guards to follow at a distance. People, the while, crowded about him, and he walked with a slow and composed air. As he lingered, and prolonged the time and way with various discourse, the trial went on ; Piso would not be mollified by importunity of his friends ; and hence at last the Empress ordered the payment of the money demanded by him. This was the issue of the affair. It left Piso lost no renown ; and it signally increased the credit of Tiberius. The power however of Ulpia was so exorbitant to the State, that she disdained to appear a witness in a certain case before the Senate ; and, when it had been days usual, even for the Vestal virgins to attend the Forum and Courts of Justice, as oft as their presence was required ; a Prætor was sent to examine Ulpia at her own house.

The procrastination which happened this year in the public affairs, I should not mention, but that the different opinions of Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus about it, are worth knowing. Their dispute was occasioned by a declaration of Tiberius, 'that he was about to be absent.' And it was the motion of Piso, 'that for that very reason, the prosecution of public business was the rather to be continued; since, as in the Prince's absence, the Senate and Equestrian order might administer their several parts, the same would become the dignity of the Commonwealth.' This was a declaration for liberty, and in it Piso had prevented Gallus, who now, in opposition, said, 'that nothing sufficiently illustrious, nor suiting the dignity of the Roman people, could be transacted but under the immediate eye of the Emperor, and therefore the conflux of suitors, and the affairs from Italy, and the provinces, must by all means be reserved for his presence.' Tiberius heard, and was silent, while the debate was managed on both sides with mighty vehemence; but the adjournment was carried.

A debate too arose between Gallus and the Emperor; for, Gallus moved, 'that the Magistrates should be henceforth elected but once every five years; that the legates of the Legions, who had never exercised the Prætorships, should be appointed Prætors; and that the Prince should nominate twelve candidates every year.' It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim, and that by it the secret springs and reserves of imperial power were invaded. But Tiberius, as if he rather apprehended the augmentation of his authority, argued, 'that it was a heavy task upon his moderation, to chuse so many magistrates, and to postpone so many candidates; that disgusts from disappointments were hardly avoided in yearly elections

tions; remain how resent reject be for same positio an an perious if they it wo five, scribe of th enjoy By th retained likewise necessite dered, the peti signal o grandfo encoura of a the rity, p so emin in the children the sta tors; t speakin this wi "num

tions; though, for their solacement, fresh hopes remained of approaching success in the next; now how great must be the hatred, how lasting the resentment of such whose pretensions were to be rejected beyond five years? and whence could it be foreseen, that, in so long a tract of time, the same men would continue to have the same dispositions, the same alliances and fortunes? even an annual designation to power, made men imperious; how imperious would it make them, if they bore the honour for five years! besides, it would multiply every single Magistrate into five, and utterly subvert the laws which had prescribed a proper space for exercising the diligence of the candidates, and for soliciting as well as enjoying preferments."

By this speech, in appearance popular, he still retained the spirit and force of the sovereignty. He likewise sustained by gratuities the dignity of some necessitous Senators. Hence it was the more wondered, that he received with haughtiness and repulse the petition of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of signal quality, and manifestly poor. He was the grandson of Hortensius the Orator; and had been encouraged by the deified Augustus with a bounty of a thousand great sesterces^a, to marry for posterity, purely to prevent the extinction of a family so eminently illustrious. The senate were sitting in the palace, and Hortalus having set his four children before the door, fixed his eyes, now upon the statue of Hortensius, placed amongst the Orators; then upon that of Augustus; and, instead of speaking to the question then debated, began on this wise: "Conscript fathers, you see there the number and infancy of my children; not mine

^a About twenty-five thousand Crowns.

' by my own choice, but in compliance with the
 ' advice of the Prince. Such too was the splendour
 ' of my ancestors, that it merited to be perpetuated
 ' in their race. But, for my own particular, who
 ' marred by the revolution of the times, could not
 ' raise wealth, nor engage popular favour, nor
 ' cultivate the hereditary fortune of our house, the
 ' fortune of Eloquence; I deemed it sufficient, in
 ' in my narrow circumstances, I lived no disgrace
 ' to myself, no burden to others. Commanded
 ' by the Emperor, I took a wife: behold the offspring
 ' of so many Consuls; behold the descendants
 ' of so many Dictators! nor is this remembrance
 ' invidiously made, but made to move mercy.
 ' In the progress of your reign, Cæsar, these
 ' children may arrive at the honours in your gift.
 ' Defend them in the mean time from want: they
 ' are the great grandsons of Hortensius; they are
 ' the foster sons of Augustus.'

The inclination of the Senate was favourable, and
 incitement to Tiberius the more eagerly to thwart
 Hortalsus. These were in effect his words: 'all
 ' that are poor recur hither for a provision of
 ' money to their children, the public will certainly
 ' fail, yet particulars never be satiated. Our an-
 ' cestors, when they permitted a departure from
 ' the question, to propose somewhat more impor-
 ' tant to the state, did not therefore permit it, that
 ' we might here transact domestic matters, and
 ' augment our private rents; an employment in-
 ' dious both in the Senate and the Prince; since
 ' whether they grant or deny the petitioned bound-
 ' ties, either the people or the petitioners will ever
 ' be offended. But these, in truth, are not peti-
 ' tions; they are demands made against orders
 ' and made by surprize. While you are assembled
 ' upon other affairs, he stands up, and urges your
 ' pity, by the number and infancy of his children;

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with the same violence, he changes the attack to me, and, as it were, bursts open the exchequer. But, if by popular bounties we exhaust it, by rapine and oppression we must supply it. The deified Augustus gave you money, Hortalus; but without solicitation he gave it, and on no condition that it should always be given: otherwise diligence will languish; sloth will prevail; and men having no hopes in resources of their own; no anxiety for themselves, but all securely relying on foreign relief, will become private sluggards and public burdens.' These and the like reasonings of Tiberius were differently received; with approbation by those whose way it is to extol, without distinction, all the doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy; by most, however, with silence, or low and discontented murmurs. Tiberius perceived it, and having paused a little, said, 'his answer was particularly to Hortalus; but, if the Senate thought fit, he would give his sons two hundred great sesterces * each.' For this all the Senators presented their thanks; only Hortalus said nothing; perhaps through present awe, or perhaps possessed, even in poverty, with the grandeur of his ancient nobility. Nor did Tiberius ever shew farther pity, though the house of Hortensius was fallen into shameful distress.

The same year, the boldness of a single bondman had, but for early prevention, torn the state with great combustions and civil arms. A slave of Posthumus Agrippa, his name Clemens, having learnt the death of Augustus, conceived a design to sail to Planasia, and there releasing Agrippa by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany. No slavish design! but, the slowness of the laden vessel defeated his bold purpose; for Agrippa was

* About five thousand Crowns.

already murdered. Hence he conceived views still higher and more daring. He stole the funeral ashes, and sailing to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himself in desert places, till his hair and beard were grown long; for, in age and person, he was not unlike his master. Then, a report spread by trusty emissaries and the associates of the plot, 'that Agrippa lived,' began to thicken. It first crept abroad in dark whispers, as usual in matters of dangerous tendency; but becoming soon a prevailing rumour, it filled the greedy ears of the credulous, or was encouraged by turbulent minds, such as are ever fond of public agitations and changes. He himself, when he entered the neighbouring towns, did it in the gloom of the day; never to be seen publicly, nor long in the same place. But, as truth is strengthened by observation and time; lies by haste and uncertainty, he out-ran fame. Here he staid not to be known; there he arrived before his name arrived.

It flew through Italy, in the mean time, 'that, by the bounty of the Gods, Agrippa was preserved.' It was even believed at Rome. His supposed arrival at Ostia, was celebrated by great multitudes abroad; and in the city by clandestine cabals; whilst divided cares distracted Tiberius, whether he should suppress his slave by the power of the sword, or suffer the empty credulity of the public to vanish with time. Now he thought that nothing was to be slighted; now that every thing was not to be dreaded, wavering between shame and fear. At last he committed the affair to Sallustius Crispus. Crispus chose two of his creatures, (some say two soldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign themselves his adherents, men who were conscious that he was the genuine Agrippa, to present him with money, and to promise him, without reserve, their faith and fortunes. They instantiy executed these

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these orders, and afterwards spying him one night without guards, and being themselves furnished with a proper band of men, they carried him to the palace, gagged and bound. To Tiberius, when he asked him, 'How he was become Agrippa?' he is said to have answered, 'Just as you became Cæsar.' But, to discover his accomplices, he could never be constrained. Neither dared Tiberius venture to execute him publicly, but ordered him to be dispatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be carried privately away; and, though many of the Prince's household, many Knights and Senators, were said to have supported him with money, and assisted him with their Counsels; no enquiry followed.

At the end of the year, a triumphal arch was raised near the Temple of Saturn, as a monument for the recovery of the Varian Eagles, under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auspices of Tiberius. A temple was dedicated to happy Fortune near the Tiber, in the Gardens bequeathed to the Roman people by Cæsar the Dictator. A Chapel was consecrated to the Julian family, and statues to the deified Augustus, in the suburbs called Bovillæ. In the Consulship of Caius Cælius and Lucius Pomponius, the six and twentieth of May, Germanicus Cæsar triumphed over the Cherusicans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elb. In the triumph were carried all the spoils and captives, with the representations of mountains, of rivers, and of battles; so that his conquests, because he was restrained from completing them, were taken for complete. His own graceful person, and his chariot filled with his five children, heightened the shew and the delight of the beholders. Yet they were checked with secret fears; as they remembered, 'that popular favour had proved malignant to his father Drusus; that his

‘ his uncle Marcellus was snatched, in his youth,
‘ from the burning affections of the populace, and,
‘ that ever short-lived and unfortunate were the
‘ favourites of the Roman people.’

Tiberius distributed to the people in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces * a man, and named himself his Collegue in the Consulship. Nor even thus did he gain the opinion of tenderness and sincerity. In effect, on pretence of investing the young Prince with fresh preferment and honours, he resolved to alienate him from Rome; and, to accomplish it, craftily framed an occasion, or snatched such a one as chance presented. Archelaus had enjoyed the Kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, a Prince under the deep displeasure of Tiberius, because in his retirement at Rhodes, the King had paid him no sort of court nor distinction; an omission which proceeded from no disdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidents of Augustus; for that the young Caius Cæsar, the presumptive heir to the Sovereignty, then lived, and was sent to compose and administer the affairs of the East; hence the friendship of Tiberius was reckoned then dangerous. But when, by the utter fall of the family of the Cæsars, he had gained the Empire, he enticed Archelaus to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, without dissembling her son’s resentment, offered the King his mercy, provided he came and in person implored it. He, who was either ignorant of the snare, or dreaded violence if he had appeared to perceive it, hastened to the City; where he was received by Tiberius with great sternness and wrath, and soon after accused as a criminal in the Senate. The crimes alledged against him were mere fictions; yet, as equal treatment is unusual to Kings, and, to be treated like

* Seven Crowns and a half.

malefactors, intolerable; Archelaus, who was broken with grief as well as age, by choice or fate ended his life. His Kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues Tiberius declared, the tax of the hundredth penny would be abated, and reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the same time died Antiochus, King of Comagena, as also Philopater, King of Cilicia; and great combustions shook these nations; whilst many of the people desired the Roman Government, and many were addicted to domestic Monarchy. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, as they were oppressed with impositions, prayed an abatement of tribute.

These affairs, and such as I have above related concerning Armenia, Tiberius represented to the Fathers, and, 'that the commotions of the East could only be settled by the wisdom and abilities of Germanicus. For himself; his age now declined, and that of Drusus was not yet sufficiently ripe.' The provinces beyond the sea were thence decreed to Germanicus, with authority superior to all those who obtained provinces by lot, or the nomination of the Prince. But, Tiberius had already taken care to remove from the government of Syria Creticus Silanus, one united to Germanicus in domestic alliance, by having betrothed his daughter to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. In his room he had preferred Cneius Piso, a man of violent temper, incapable of subjection, and heir to all the ferocity and haughtiness of his father Piso; the same who, in the civil war, assisted the reviving party against Cæsar in Africa, with vehement efforts, then followed Brutus and Cassius, but had at last leave to come home; yet disdained to sue for any public offices; nay, was even courted by Augustus to accept the Consulship. His son, besides his hereditary pride and impetuosity, was elevated with the nobility

lity and wealth of Plancina his wife. Scarce yielded he to Tiberius, and, as men far beneath him, despised the sons of Tiberius. Neither did he doubt but he was set over Syria on purpose to defeat all the views of Germanicus. Some even believed, that he had to this purpose secret orders from Tiberius; as it was certain, that Livia directed Plancina to exert the spirit of the sex, and by constant emulation and indignities, to persecute Agrippina. For, the whole court was rent, and their affections secretly divided between Drusus and Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Drusus, as his own son by generation; others loved Germanicus; the more for the aversion of his uncle, and for being by his mother, of more illustrious descent; as Marc Anthony was his grandfather, and Augustus his great uncle. On the other side, Pomponius Atticus, a Roman Knight, by being the great grandfather of Drusus, seemed thence to have derived a stain upon the images of the Claudian house. Besides, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, did in the fruitfulness of her body, and the reputation of her virtue, far excel Livia the wife of Drusus. Yet the two brothers lived in amiable dearness and concord, no wife shaken or estranged by the reigning contention amongst their separate friends and adherents.

Drusus was soon after sent into Illyricum, in order to inure him to war, and gain him the affections of the army. Besides, Tiberius thought that the youth, who lived wantoning in the luxuries of Rome, would be reformed in the camp, and that his own security would be enlarged when both his sons were at the head of the Legions. But, the pretence for sending him was the protection of the Suevians, who were then imploring assistance against the power of the Cheruskans. For, these nations, who since the departure of the Romans, saw themselves no longer threatened with terrors from abroad,

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and were then particularly engaged in a national competition for glory, had relapsed, as usual, into their old intestine feuds, and turned their arms upon each other. The two people were equally powerful, their two leaders equally brave, but differently esteemed, as the title of King had drawn upon Maroboduus the hate and aversion of his countrymen; whilst Arminius, as a champion warring for the defence of liberty, was the universal object of popular affection.

Hence not only the Cherusicans and their confederates, they who had been the ancient soldiery of Arminius, took arms; but to him too revolted the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even subjects of Maroboduus; and by their accession he would have exceeded in puissance, but Inguiomerus with his band of followers deserted to Maroboduus; for no other cause than disdain, that an old man and an uncle like himself, should obey Arminius a young man his nephew. Both armies were drawn out, with equal hopes; nor disjointed, like the old German battles, into scattered parties for loose and random attacks; for, by long war with us, they had learnt to follow their ensigns, to strengthen their main body with parties of reserve, and to observe the orders of their Generals. Arminius was now on horseback viewing all the ranks: as he rode through them he magnified their passed feats; 'their liberty recovered, the slaughtered Legions; the spoils of arms wrested from the Romans; monuments of victory still retained in some of their hands.' Upon Maroboduus he fell with contumelious names, as 'a fugitive, one of no abilities in war; a coward, who had sought defence from the gloomy coverts of the Hercynian wood, and then by gifts and solicitations, courted the alliance of Rome: a betrayer of his country, a lifeguard-man of Caesar's, worthy to be exterminated

‘minated with no less hostile vengeance than in the
 ‘slaughter of Quinctilius Varus they had shewn.
 ‘Let them only remember so many battles bravely
 ‘fought; the events of which, particularly the
 ‘utter expulsion of the Romans, were sufficient
 ‘proofs with whom remained the glory of the
 ‘war.’

Neither did Maroboduus fail to boast himself, and to depreciate the foe. ‘In the person of Ingomerus, he said, (holding him by the hand) rested the whole renown of the Cheruskans; and from his counsels began all their exploits that ended in success. Arminius, a man of a frantic spirit, and a novice in affairs, assumed to himself the glory of another, for having by treachery surprized three Legions, which expected no foe, and their leader, who feared no fraud; a base surprize, revenged since on Germany with heavy slaughters, and on Arminius himself with domestic infamy, while his wife and his son still bore the bonds of captivity. For himself; when attacked formerly by Tiberius at the head of twelve Legions, he had preserved unstained the glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the war. Nor did he repent of the treaty, since it was still in their hands to wage anew, equal war with the Romans, or save blood and maintain peace.’ The armies, besides the incitements from these speeches, were animated by national stimulations of their own. The Cheruskans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; and the Suevians and their King, on the contrary, were struggling for the augmentation of their monarchy. Never did armies make a fiercer onset, never had met a more ambiguous event; for, both the right wings were routed, and hence a fresh encounter was certainly expected, until Maroboduus drew off his army and encamped upon the hills;

Hills; a manifest sign that he was humbled; frequent desertions too leaving him at last naked of forces, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence sent Embassadors to Tiberius, to implore succours. They were answered, 'That he had no right to invoke aid of the Roman arms against the Cherusians; since to the Romans, while they were warring with the same foe, he had never administered any assistance.' Drusus was however sent away, as I have said, with the character of a negotiator of peace.

The same year, twelve noble cities of Asia were overturned by an earthquake. The ruin happened in the night, and the more dreadful as its warnings were unobserved. Neither availed the usual sanctuary against such calamities, namely, a flight to the fields; since those who fled, the gaping earth devoured. It is reported, 'That mighty mountains subsided, plains were heaved into high hills; and that with flashes and eruptions of fire, the mighty devastation was every where accompanied.' The Sardians felt most heavily the rage of the concussion, and therefore most compassion; Tiberius promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces *, and remitted their taxes for five years. The inhabitants of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in sufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeaetans, Apollonians, with those called the Mostenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cyme and Tmolus; were all for the same term eased of tribute. It was likewise resolved to send one of the Senate to view the desolations, and administer proper remedies. Marcus Aletus was therefore chosen, one of Prætorian rank; because a Consular Senator then governing

* Two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns.

Asia, had another of the like quality been sent, an emulation between equals was apprehended, and consequently opposition and delays.

The credit of this noble bounty to the public, he increased by private liberalities, which proved equally popular; the estate of the wealthy Emilla Musa, claimed by the exchequer, as she died intestate, he surrendered to Emilius Lepidus, to whose family she seemed to belong; as also to Marcus Servilius, the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman Knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself; but he found Servilius named sole heir in a former and well-attested will. He said, such was 'the nobility of both, that they deserved to be supported.' Nor did he ever accept to himself any man's inheritance, but where former friendship gave him a title. The wills of such as were strangers to him, and of such as, from hate and prejudice to others, had appointed the Prince their heir, he utterly rejected. But, as he relieved the honest poverty of the virtuous, so he degraded from the Senate, (or suffered to quit it of their own accord) Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius, all prodigals, and only through debauchery indigent.

About this time, Tiberius finished and consecrated what Augustus began, the Temples of the Gods consumed by age or fire; that near the great Circus, vowed by Aulus Posthumius the Dictator, to Bacchus, Proserpina and Ceres; in the same place the Temple of Flora, founded by Lucius Publicius and Marcus Publicius, while they were Ædiles; the Temple of Janus, built in the Herb-Market by Caius Duillius, who first signalized the Roman power at sea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by Germanicus. This Temple Atilius had vowed in the same war.

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The Law of violated Majesty, in the mean time, waxed intense, and by it an accuser impleaded Apuleia Varilia, grand-niece to Augustus by his sister; for that with opprobrious words she had reviled the deified Augustus, Tiberius and his mother; and being nearly allied to the Emperor, had stained by adultery, the Cæsarean blood. Concerning the adultery, sufficient provision was thought already made by the Julian Law; and the crimes of state, Tiberius desired, might be separated: If she had uttered impious speeches of Augustus, she must be condemned; but, for invectives against himself, he would not have her called to any account.' The Consul asked him, 'What would be his sentiments, if she were convicted of defaming his mother?' To this he made no answer; but next sitting of the Senate, he prayed too in her name, 'That no words spoken against her, might to any one be imputed for crimes;' and acquitted Apuleia of the treason; of her punishment too for adultery, he begged a mitigation, and prevailed, that, 'by the example of our ancestors, she should be removed by her kindred two hundred miles from Rome.' Manlius her adulterer was interdicted Italy and Africa.

A debate at this time arose about substituting a Prætor in the room of Vispanius Gallus, removed by death. Germanicus and Drusus (for they were yet at Rome) espoused Haterius Agrippa, kinsman to Germanicus. Many, on the contrary, insisted, that the number of children should decide it, and the candidate who had most be preferred; for this was the voice of the Law. Tiberius rejoiced to see the Senate engaged in a contention between his sons and the laws. The law, without doubt, was vanquished, yet not instantly, and by a small majority; but with the same struggle that laws were vanquished when laws were in force.

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This year, a war began in Africa, conducted by Tacfarinas. He was a native of Numidia, and had served amongst the auxiliaries in the Roman armies, but deserting the service, gathered together, by the allurements of booty and rapine, at first a herd of vagabonds and men inured to robberies ; then formed them, like an army, into regular companies of foot, and troops of horse, under distinct standards and colours. At length he was no longer esteemed the leader of a disorderly gang, but considered as General of the Musulanians. This powerful people, borderers upon the deserts of Africa, still wild, and without towns, took arms, and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors. These too had a General of their own, his name Mazippa ; and between the two leaders the army was divided, that, whilst Tacfarinas encamped with the best men, armed after the fashion of Romans, and accustomed them to discipline and command, Mazippa, with a flying band, might make excursions on every side, with fire, slaughter and alarms. They had likewise forced the Cinithians into their measures, a nation no wise despicable ; when Furius Camillus, Proconsul of Africa, marched against the enemy with one Legion, and what troops of the Allies were under his command ; a handful of men at most, when compared to the multitude of Numidians and Moors ! But it was his first care not to intimidate them with numbers, and thence tempt them to elude fighting, and prolong the war. Indeed, he gave them hopes of victory, only to enable himself to vanquish them. The Legion was placed in the center, the light cohorts, and two wings of horse on the right and left. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the combat. The Numidians were routed ; and, after a long series of years, military renown recovered to the name of Furius. For since Camillus the restorer of Rome and his son, the glory of command

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mand and victories continued in other families. Even he whom I have mentioned, passed for a man destitute of military abilities and experience in war. Hence Tiberius magnified with the more unfeigned alacrity his exploits to the Senate, and to him the fathers decreed the ensigns of triumph. Yet to Camillus all this merit and distinction proved no snare, protected as he was by a life singularly modest and retired.

The Consuls for the following year were Tiberius the third time, Germanicus the second. This dignity overtook Germanicus at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he arrived, by the coast of Illyricum, from visiting his brother Drusus, then abiding in Dalmatia, and had suffered a tempestuous passage, both in the Adriatic and Ionian sea. He therefore spent a few days to repair his fleet, and viewed the while the Bay of Actium, renowned for the naval victory there, as also the spoils consecrated by Augustus, and the Camp of Anthony, with an affecting remembrance of these his ancestors; for Anthony, as I have said, was his great uncle, Augustus his grandfather. Hence this scene proved to Germanicus a mighty source of images pleasing and sad. Next he proceeded to Athens, where, in concession to that ancient city, allied to Rome, he would use but one Lictor. The Greeks received him with the most elaborate honours, and, to dignify their personal flattery, carried before him tablatures of the signal deeds and sayings of his ancestors.

Hence he sailed to Eubœa, thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of Julia, who proved her last child. Then he kept the coast of Asia, and visited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and entered the streights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine, fond of beholding ancient places long celebrated by fame. He relieved,

lieved, at the same time, the provinces where-ever distracted with intestine factions, or aggrieved with the oppressions of their Magistrates. In his return he strove to see the religious rites of the Samothracians, but, by the violence of the north wind was repulsed from the shore. As he passed, he saw Troy and her remains, venerable for the vicissitude of her fate, and for the birth of Rome. Regaining the coast of Asia, he put in at Colophon, to consult there the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It is no Pythonesse that represents the God here, as at Delphos, but a priest, one chosen from certain families, chiefly of Miletus; neither requires he more than just to hear the names and numbers of the querists, and then descends into the oracular cave; where, after a draught of water from a secret spring, though ignorant for the most part of Letters and Poetry, he yet utters his answers in Verse, which has for its subject the conceptions and wishes of each consultant. He was even said to have sung to Germanicus his hastening fate, but, as Oracles are wont, in terms dark and doubtful.

Now Cneius Piso, hurrying to the execution of his purposes, terrified the city of Athens by a tempestuous entry, and reproached them in a severe speech, with oblique censure of Germanicus, 'that, debasing the dignity of the Roman name, he had paid excessive court, not to the Athenians, by so many slaughters long since extinct, but to the then mixed scum of nations there; for that these were they who had leagued with Mithridates against Sylla, and with Anthony against Augustus.' He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts against the Macedonians; her violence and ingratitude to her own citizens. He was also an enemy to their city from personal anger; because they would not pardon, at his request, one

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Theophilus, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. From thence, sailing hastily through the Cyclades, and taking the shortest course, he overtook Germanicus at Rhodes, but was there driven by a sudden tempest upon the rocks; and Germanicus, who was not ignorant with what malignity and invectives he was pursued, yet acted with so much humanity, that, when he might have left him to perish, and have referred to casualty the destruction of his enemy, he dispatched galleys, to rescue him from the wreck. This generous kindness, however, asswaged not the animosity of Piso; scarce could he brook a day's delay with Germanicus, but left him in haste to arrive in Syria before him. Nor was he sooner there, and found himself amongst the Legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and caresses, to assist them with his countenance and credit, to form factions, to remove all the ancient Centurions, and every Tribune of remarkable discipline and severity, and, in their places, to put dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes. He permitted sloth in the camp, licentiousness in the towns, a rambling and disorderly soldiery, and carried the corruption so high, that in the discourses of the herd, he was stiled *Father of the Legions*. Nor did Plancina restrain herself to a conduct seemly in her sex, but frequented the exercises of the cavalry, and attended the decursions of the Cohorts, every where inveighing against Agrippina, every where against Germanicus; and some, even of the most deserving soldiers, became prompt to base obedience, from a rumour whispered abroad, 'that all this was not unacceptable to Tiberius.'

These doings were all known to Germanicus; but his more instant care was, to visit Armenia, an inconstant and restless nation from the beginning, from the genius of the people, as well as from the situation

situation of their country, which, bordering with a large frontier on our provinces, and stretching thence quite to Media, is inclosed between the two great Empires, and often at variance with them; with the Romans through antipathy and hatred, with the Parthians through competition and envy. At this time, and ever since the removal of Venones, they had no King; but the affections of the nations leaned to Zeno, son of Polémon King of Pontus, because by an attachment, from his infancy, to the fashions and customs of the Armenians, by hunting, feasting, and other usages practised and renowned amongst the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head, therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great assembly, Germanicus put the regal Diadem; and the Armenians doing homage to their King, saluted him, Artaxias, a name which from that of their city, they gave him. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their Governor, Quintus Veranius; and, to raise their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, several of the royal taxes were lessened. Quintus Servius was set over the Comagenians, then first subjected to the jurisdiction of a Prætor.

From the affairs of the allies, thus all successfully settled, Germanicus reaped no pleasure, thro' the perverseness and pride of Piso, who was ordered to lead, by himself or his son, part of the Legions into Armenia, but contemptuously neglected to do either. They, at last, met at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth Legion, whither each came with a prepared countenance; Piso to betray no fear, and Germanicus would not be thought to threaten. He was indeed, as I have observed, of a humane and reconcileable spirit; but, officious friends, expert at inflaming animosities,

ties, aggravated real offences, added fictitious, and with manifold imputations charged Piso, Plancina, and their sons. To this interview Germanicus admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in such words as dissembled resentment usually dictates. Piso replied with disdainful submissions, and they parted in open enmity. Piso, hereafter, came rarely to the Tribunal of Germanicus; or, if he did, sat sternly there, and in manifest opposition. He likewise published his spite at a feast of the Nabathean Kings, where golden Crowns of great weight were presented to Germanicus and Agrippina; but to Piso and the rest, such as were light. 'This banquet, he said, was made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian Monarch.' With these words, he cast away his crown, and uttered many invectives against luxury. Sharp insults upon Germanicus! yet he bore them.

At this time arrived Ambassadors from Artabanus King of the Parthians. He sent them 'to represent the state of the mutual league and friendship between the two Empires, how desirous he was to renew it; that, in honour to Germanicus, he would come to receive him as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and requested, in the mean time, that Vonones might not be continued in Syria, lest, taking the advantage of so near a neighbourhood, he should, by corresponding with the Grandees of Parthia, ingage them in a civil dissention and rebellion.' The answer given by Germanicus, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceived in terms of dignity and grandeur; but, of the coming of the King, and the court and veneration intended to himself, he spoke with becoming complaisance and modesty. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, a concession made, not at the request of Artabanus only, but in contumely

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to Pifo, with whom Venones was high in favour, for the assiduous court and many presents by which he had won Plancina.

In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus travelled to Ægypt, to view the famous Antiquities of the country; though for the motives of the journey, the care and inspection of the province were publicly alledged: and, indeed, by opening the granaries, he mitigated the price of corn, and practised many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the same with that of the Greeks; after the example of Publius Scipio, who, we are told, was constant in the same practices in Sicily, even during the rage of the Punic War there. For these his assumed manners and foreign habit, Tiberius blamed him in a gentle stile, but censured him with great asperity for violating an establishment of Augustus, and entering Alexandria without consent of the Prince. For Augustus, amongst other secrets of power, had set apart and appropriated Ægypt, and restrained the Senators and dignified Roman Knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be distressed with famine, by any who seized that province, the key to the Empire by sea and land, and defensible by a light band of men against potent armies.

Germanicus, not yet informed that his journey was censured, sailed up the Nile, beginning at Canopus, one of its mouths, built by the Spartans, as a monument to Canopus, a Pilot buried there, at the time when Menelaus, returning to Greece, was driven to different seas and the Libyan continent. Hence he visited the next mouth of the river sacred to Hercules. Him the natives aver to have been born amongst them; that he was the most ancient of the name, and that all the rest, who, with equal

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virtues, followed his example, were, in honour, called after him. Next he visited the mighty antiquities of ancient Thebes, where, upon huge Obelisks yet remained Ægyptian Characters, describing its former opulency. One of the oldest Priests was ordered to interpret them; he said they related 'that it once contained seven hundred thousand fighting men; that with that army King Rhameses had conquered Libya, Ethiopia, the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and Scythians; and to his Empire had added the territories of the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians; a tract of countries reaching from the sea of Bithynia to that of Lycia.' Here also was read the assessment of Tribute laid on the several nations; what weight of silver and gold; what number of horses and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the Temples; what measures of grain; what quantities of all necessaries, were by each people paid; revenues equally grand with those exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the Power of the Romans.

Germanicus was intent upon seeing other wonders. The chief were, the effigies of Memnon, a Colossus of stone, yielding, when struck by the solar rays, a vocal sound; the Pyramids rising, like mountains, amongst rolling and almost impassable waves of sand, proud monuments of the emulation and opulency of Ægyptian Kings; the artificial Lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile; and elsewhere abysses of such immense depth, that those who tried, could never fathom. Thence he proceeded to Elephantina and Syene, two Islands, formerly frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is now widened to the Red-Sea.

Whilst Germanicus spent this summer in several provinces, Drusus was sowing feuds amongst the Germans, and thence reaped no light renown; and,

as the power of Maroboduus was already broken, he engaged them to persist and complete his ruin. Amongst the Gotoes was a young man of quality, his name Catualda, a fugitive long since from the violence of Maroboduus, but now, in his distress, resolved on revenge. Hence, with a stout band, he entered the borders of the Marcomannians, and, corrupting their chiefs into his alliance, stormed the regal palace, and the castle situate near it. In the pillage were found the ancient stores of prey accumulated by the Suevians, as also many victuallers and traders from our provinces; men who were drawn hither from their several homes, first by privilege of traffic, then retained by a passion to multiply gain, and at last, through utter oblivion of their own country, fixed, like natives, in a hostile soil.

To Maroboduus, on every side forsaken, no other refuge remained but the mercy of Cæsar. He therefore passed the Danube where it washes the province of Norrica, and wrote to Tiberius, not however in the language of a fugitive or supplicant, but with a spirit suitable to his late grandeur; ‘that many nations invited him to them, as a King once so glorious; but he preferred to all the friendship of Rome.’ The emperor answered, ‘that in Italy he should have a safe and honourable retreat, and, when his affairs required his presence, the same security to return.’ But to the Senate he declared, ‘that never had Philip of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman people. The speech is extant: in it he magnifies ‘the greatness of the man, the fierceness and bravery of the nations his subjects; the alarming nearness of such an enemy to Italy, and his own artful measures to destroy him.’ Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians

as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readiness to recover their subjection. Yet in eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; his renown too became eminently diminished. Such was the price which he paid for an overpassionate love of life. The same fate had Catualda, and no other sanctuary; he was soon after expelled by the forces of the Hermundurians, led by Vibilius, and being received under the Roman protection, was conveyed to Forum Julium, a Colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, their followers, lest, had they been mixed with the provinces, they might have disturbed their present quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cusus, and for their King had assigned them Vannius, by nation a Quadian.

As soon as it was known at Rome, that Artaxias was by Germanicus given to the Armenians for their King, the fathers decreed to him and Drusus the lesser Triumph. Triumphal arches were likewise erected, on each side the Temple of Mars *the Avenger*, supporting the statues of these two Cæsars; and for Tiberius, he was more joyful to have established peace by policy, than if by battles and victories he had ended the war. He therefore also assailed by the ways of craft Rhescuporis a King of Thrace. That whole nation had been subject to Rhemetalces; but, upon his death, one moiety was by Augustus granted to Rhescuporis his brother, and one to Cotys his son. In this partition, the vales, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to Cotys; to Rhescuporis the wilds, the hills, and the parts exposed to a hostile neighbourhood. The two Kings were likewise dissonant in their genius, the former mild and agreeable; the latter cruel, rapacious, and impatient of equality. Yet, at first they lived in hollow friendship, but, in a while, Rhescuporis began to break

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bounds, to seize for himself the portions of Cotys, and, where he met resistance, to exercise violence; cautiously, it is true, and by degrees, in the life of Augustus, to whose grant they owed both their Kingdoms; and, if his authority had been despised, his vengeance was dreaded. But, upon the change of Emperors, he poured in bands of robbers, demolished forts, and thus sought to provoke war.

Tiberius was about no consideration of state so anxious, as that things once settled should never after be molested. He instantly dispatched a Centurion to the two Kings, to forbid their proceeding to a decision by arms; and Cotys forthwith dismissed the forces he had raised. Rhescuporis feigned submission, and desired an interview, 'for that by treaty, he said, they might adjust all their differences:' and, upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one through easiness, one through fraud, yielded and accepted every proposition. Rhescuporis, for a sanction, as he pretended, to the league, added a banquet, and the festivity and drinking was prolonged till midnight, when Cotys, warm with wine and feasting, and void of circumspection, was suddenly loaded with chains, deprecating in vain the brutal treachery, 'by the inviolable rights of Kings, by the common Gods of their family, by that very banquet of sacred pledge of concord and hospitality.' Rhescuporis, having now seized all Thrace, wrote to Tiberius, 'that bloody snares were contrived for him, but he had anticipated the contriver;' and, pretending a war against the Basternæans and Scythians, fortified himself with new forces, horse and foot.

He had a soft answer, 'that if he had practised no guile, he might securely trust to his innocence; but, neither could he himself nor the Senate, without hearing the cause, distinguish be-

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‘tween justice and violence: that therefore, deliberating up Cotys, he should come, and upon him effectually transfer the odium of the crime.’ This letter Latinus Pandus, Proprætor of Mesia, transmitted to Thrace, by the soldiers sent to receive Cotys. Rhescuporis, wavering long between fear and rage, determined at last rather to be guilty of a finished than an imperfect villainy: he caused Cotys to be murdered, and belied his death, as if by his own hands it had been procured. Neither yet did Tiberius change his favourite course of dissembling, but, upon the death of Pandus, whom Rhescuporis alledged to have been his enemy, preferred to the Government of Mesia Pomponius Flaccus, an ancient officer, one in close friendship with the King, and by it more qualified to betray him; hence chiefly he was preferred.

Flaccus passed into Thrace, and, though he found him full of hesitation, and revolving with great dismay upon the crying horror of his own wickedness, yet, by mighty promises, prevailed upon him to enter the Roman barrier. Here the King, on pretence of solemnity and honour, was surrounded with a strong party, and a crowd of officers, who pressed him by earnest exhortations, and many arguments, and the further they travelled the more apparent to him was his confinement; so that at last, convinced of the necessity of going, he was by them haled to Rome. He was accused before the Senate by the wife of Cotys, and condemned to exile far from his Kingdom. Thrace was divided between Rhemetalces his son, who, it was manifest, had opposed all his father’s outrageous measures; and the sons of Cotys. These were minors, and placed with their Kingdom under the administration of Trebellienus Rufus, formerly Prætor, after the example of our Ancestors, who sent Marcus Lepidus into Ægypt, in quality of guardian

guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was transported to Alexandria, and there slain, attempting flight, or falsely charged with it.

At the same time, Vonones, who had been removed, as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavoured to escape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinsman the King of Scythia. Thus pretending to hunt, and avoiding the maritime coasts, he gained the devious recesses of the forests; and then, on a sudden, rode full speed to the River Pyramus. But, the country-men, apprized of the King's flight, had broken the bridges; neither was the stream to be forded. Upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by Vibius Fronto, General of horse, put in bonds, and presently after, by Remmius, a resumed Veteran, lately his keeper, run through, in affected wrath, with a sword. Hence arose the stronger belief that, from consciousness of fraud, and dread of discovery, Vonones was slain.

Germanicus returning from Ægypt, learned that all his orders left with the Legions, and the Eastern cities, were either intirely abolished, or contrary regulations established; a ground for his severe resentment and reproaches upon Piso. Nor less keen were the efforts and machinations of Piso against Germanicus. Yet Piso afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detained by the following illness of Germanicus. Again, when he heard of his recovery, and perceived that vows were paid for his restoration, the Lictors, by his command, broke the solemnity, drove away the victims, already at the altars, overturned the apparatus of the sacrifice, and scattered the people of Antioch employed in celebrating the festival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again assaulted Germanicus.

His own persuasion too, that poison was given him by Piso, heightened the cruel vehemence of the disease. Indeed, upon the floors and walls were found fragments of human bodies, the spoils of the grave, with charms and incantations, and the name of Germanicus graved on sheets of lead, carcases half burnt, besmeared with gore, and other witchcrafts, by which souls are thought doomed to the infernal gods. Besides, there were certain persons, charged as creatures of Piso, purposely sent and employed to watch the progress and efforts of the disease.

These things filled Germanicus with apprehensions great as his resentment. ' If his doors, he said, were besieged, if under the eyes of his enemies he must render up his spirit, what was to be expected to his unhappy wife, what to his infant children? The progress of poison was thought too slow. Piso was impatient, and urging with eagerness to command alone the Legions, to possess alone the province: but Germanicus was not sunk to such lowness and impotence, that the price of his murder should remain with the murderer: and by a Letter to Piso, he renounced his friendship. Some add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did Piso tarry longer, but took ship, yet checked her sailing, in order to return with the more quickness, should the death of Germanicus the while leave the Government of Syria vacant.

Germanicus, after a small revival, drooping again, when his end approached, spoke on this wise to his attending friends. ' Were I to yield to the destiny of nature, Just, even then, were my complaints against the Gods, for hurrying me from my parents, my children, and my country, by a hasty death, in the prime of life. Now, shortened in my course by the malignity of Piso,

‘ and his wife, to your breasts I commit my last
‘ prayers. Tell my father, tell my brother, with
‘ what violent persecutions afflicted, with what
‘ mortal snares circumvented, I end a most mis-
‘ erable life by death of all others the worst. All
‘ they whose hopes in my fortune, all they whose
‘ kindred blood, and even they whose envy, pos-
‘ sessed them with impressions about me whilst liv-
‘ ing, shall bewail me dead, that once great in
‘ glory, and surviving so many wars, I fell at last
‘ by the dark devices of a woman. To you place
‘ will be left to complain in the Senate, place to
‘ invoke the aid and vengeance of the Laws. To
‘ commemorate the dead with slothful wailings,
‘ is not the principal office of friends: They are
‘ to remember his dying wishes, to fulfil his last
‘ desires. Even strangers will lament Germanicus.
‘ You are my friends; if you loved me rather than
‘ my fortune, you will vindicate your friendship.
‘ Shew the people of Rome my wife, her who is
‘ the grand-daughter of Augustus, and enumerate
‘ to them our offspring, even six children. Their
‘ compassion will surely attend you who accuse;
‘ and the accused, if they pretend clandestine war-
‘ rants of iniquity, will not be believed; if be-
‘ lieved, not pardoned.’ His friends, as a pledge
‘ of their fidelity, touching the hand of the dying
‘ Prince, swore that they would forego their lives
‘ sooner than their revenge. Then turning to his
‘ wife, he besought her, ‘ That in tenderness to his
‘ memory, in tenderness to their common children,
‘ she would banish her haughty spirit, yield to her
‘ hostile fortune; nor, upon her return to Rome,
‘ by an impotent competition for ruling, irritate
‘ those who were masters of rule.’ So much
‘ openly, and more in secret, whence he was be-
‘ lieved to have warned her of guile and danger
‘ from Tiberius. Soon after he expired, to the heavy
‘ sorrow

sorrow of the province, and of all the neighbouring countries ; infomuch that remote nations and foreign Kings were mourners : such had been his complacency to our confederates ; such his humanity to his enemies ! Alike venerable he was, whether you saw him, or heard him ; and without ever departing from the grave port and dignity of his sublime rank, he yet lived destitute of arrogance, and untouched by envy.

The funeral, which was performed without exterior pomp or a procession of images, drew its solemnity from the loud praises and amiable memory of his virtues. There were those who, from the loveliness of his person, his age, his manner of dying, and even from the proximity of places where both departed, compared him in the circumstance of his fate, to the great Alexander ; ‘ each of a graceful person, each of illustrious descent ; in years neither much exceeding thirty ; both victims to the malice and machinations of their own people, in the midst of foreign nations ; but Germanicus, gentle towards his friends, his pleasures moderate, confined to one wife, all his children by one bed ; nor less a warrior, though not so rash, however hindered from a final reduction of Germany, broken by him in so many victories, and ready for the yoke. So that had he been sole arbiter of things, had he acted with the Sovereignty and title of Royalty, he had easier overtaken him in the glory of conquests, as he surpassed him in clemency, in moderation, and in other virtues.’ His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place where the pile was erected. Whether it bore the marks of poison, remained undecided : for people, as they were divided in their affections, as they pitied Germanicus, and presumed the guilt of Piso, or were partial to him, gave opposite accounts.

It was next debated amongst the legates of the Legions, and the other Senators there, to whom should be committed the administration of Syria: and, after the faint efforts of others, it was long disputed between Vibius Marfus and Cneius Sentius. Marfus at last yielded to Sentius, the older man, and the more vehement competitor. By him one Martina, infamous in that province for Practices in poisoning, and a close confident of Plancina, was sent to Rome, at the suit of Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who were preparing criminal articles against Piso and Plancina, as against persons evidently guilty.

Agrippina, though overwhelmed with sorrow, and her body indisposed, yet impatient of all delays to her revenge, embarked with the ashes of Germanicus, and her children, attended with universal commiseration: ‘ That a Lady, in quality a Princess, wont to be beheld in her late splendid wedding with applauses and adorations, was now seen bearing in her bosom her husband’s funeral urn, uncertain of vengeance for him, and fearful for herself, unfortunate in her fruitfulness, and from so many children obnoxious to so many blows of fortune. Piso, the while, was overtaken at the Isle of Cos by a message, ‘ that Germanicus was deceased, and received it intemperately, slew victims and repaired with thanksgiving to the Temples. Yet, however immoderate and undisguised was his joy, more arrogant and insulting proved that of Plancina, who immediately threw off her mourning, which for the death of a sister she wore, and assumed a dress adapted to gaiety and gladness.

About him flocked the Centurions with officious representations, ‘ That upon him particularly were bent the affections and zeal of the Legions, and he should proceed to resume the province, at first injuriously taken from him, and now destitute of

‘ a Go-

‘ a Governor.’ As he therefore consulted what he had best pursue, his son Marcus Piso advised, ‘ a speedy journey to Rome. Hitherto, he said, ‘ nothing past expiation, was committed ; neither ‘ were impotent suspicions to be dreaded ; nor the ‘ idle blazonings of fame. His variance and contention with Germanicus was, perhaps, subject ‘ to popular hate and aversion, but to no prosecution or penalty ; and, by bereaving him of the ‘ province, his enemies were gratified. But if he ‘ returned thither, as Sentius would certainly oppose him with arms, a civil war would thence be ‘ actually begun. Neither would the Centurions ‘ and soldiers persist in his party, men with whom ‘ the recent memory of their late Commander, and ‘ an inveterate love to the Cæsars in general, were ‘ still prevalent.’

Domitius Celer, one in intimate credit with Piso, argued on the contrary, ‘ That the present event ‘ must by all means be improved ; it was Piso, and ‘ not Sentius, who had commission to govern Syria ; upon him were conferred the jurisdiction of ‘ Prætor, and the badges of Magistracy, and with ‘ him the Legions were intrusted. So that if acts ‘ of hostility were by his opponents attempted, with ‘ how much better warrant could he avow assuming arms in his own right and defence, who was ‘ thus vested with the authority of General, and ‘ acted under special orders from the Emperor. ‘ Rumours too were to be neglected, and left to perish with time. In truth, to the sallies and violence of recent hate, the innocent were often ‘ unequal. But were he once possessed of the Army, and had well augmented his forces, many ‘ things, not to be foreseen, would from fortune ‘ derive success. Are we then preposterously hastening to arrive at Rome with the ashes of Germanicus, that you may there fall, unheard and ‘ undefended,

‘ undefended, a victim to the wailings of Agrippina,
 ‘ a prey to the passionate populace governed by the
 ‘ first impressions of rumour? Livia, it is true, is
 ‘ your confederate, Tiberius is your friend; but
 ‘ both secretly: and indeed none will more pompously
 ‘ bewail the violent fate of Germanicus,
 ‘ than such as do most sincerely rejoice for it.’

Piso, of himself prompt to violent pursuits, was with no great labour persuaded into this opinion, and, in a Letter transmitted to Tiberius, accused Germanicus ‘ of luxury and pride; that for himself, he had been expelled, to leave room for dangerous designs against the State, and now resumed, with his former faith and loyalty, the ‘ care of the Army.’ In the mean time he put Domitius on board a galley, and ordered him to avoid appearing upon the Coasts or amongst the Isles, but, through the main sea, to sail to Syria. The deserters, who from all quarters were flocking to him in crowds, he formed into companies, and armed all the retainers to the Camp; then sailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits, upon their march into Syria, and wrote to the small Kings of Cilicia to assist him with present succours. Nor was the younger Piso slow in prosecuting all the measures of war, though to adventure a war had been against his sentiments and advice.

As they coasted Licia and Pamphylia, they encountered the ships which carried Agrippina, with hostile spirits on each side, and each at first prepared for combat; but as equal dread of one another possessed both, they proceeded not further than mutual contumelies. Vibius Marsus particularly summoned Piso, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence. He answered, with derision, ‘ That when the Prætor, who was to sit upon poisonings, had assigned a day to the accusers and ‘ the accused, he would attend.’ Domitius, the

while,

while, landing at Laodicea, a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter-quarters of the sixth Legion, which he believed to be the most prone to engage in novel attempts, but was prevented by Pacuvius, its commander. Sentius represented this by Letter to Piso, and warned him, 'at his peril 'to infect the Camp by ministers of corruption, 'or to assail the province by war,' and drew into a body such as he knew loved Germanicus, or such as were averse to his foes. Upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that Piso was with open arms attacking the majesty of the Prince, and invading the Roman state; and then marched at the head of a puissant body, equipped for battle, and resolute to engage.

Neither failed Piso, though his enterprizes had thus far miscarried, to apply the securest remedies to his present perplexities, and therefore seized a Castle of Silicia strongly fortified, its name Celen-dris. For, to the Auxiliary Cilicians, sent him by the pretty Kings, he had joined his body of deserters, as also the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and Plancina's slaves; and thus in number and bulk, had of the whole composed a Legion. To them he thus harangued; 'I, who am the 'Lieutenant of Cæsar, am yet violently excluded 'from the province which to me Cæsar has com-mitted; not excluded by the Legions, (for by 'their invitation I am arrived) but by Sentius, who 'thus disguises, under feigned crimes against me, 'his own animosity, and personal hate. But with 'confidence you may stand in battle, where the 'opposite army, upon the sight of Piso, a Com-mander lately by themselves stiled their *Father*, 'will certainly refuse to fight; they know too, 'that were right to decide it, I am the stronger; 'and of no mean puissance in a trial at arms.' He then arrayed his men without the fortifications on a hill

hill steep and craggy, for all the rest was begirt by the sea. Against them stood the Veterans regularly embattled, and supported with a body of reserve; so that here appeared the force of men, there only the terror and stubbornness of situation. On Piso's side was no spirit, no hope, nor even weapons, save those of rustics, for instant necessity hastily acquired. As soon as they came to blows, the issue was no longer doubtful than while the Roman Cohorts struggled up the steep. The Cilicians then fled, and shut themselves up in the Castle.

Piso having the while attempted in vain to storm the fleet, which rode at a small distance, as soon as he returned, presented himself upon the walls; where, by a succession of passionate complaints and entreaties, now bemoaning in agonies the bitterness of his lot, then calling and cajoling every particular soldier by his name, and by rewards tempting all, he laboured to excite a sedition; and thus much he had already effected, that the Eagle-bearer of the sixth Legion revolted to him with his Eagle. This alarmed Sentius, and instantly he commanded the cornets and trumpets to sound, a mount to be raised, the ladders placed, and the bravest men to mount, and others to pour from the Engines volleys of darts, and stones, and flaming torches. The obstinacy of Piso was at last vanquished; and he desired, 'that, upon delivering his arms, he might remain in the Castle till the Emperor's pleasure, to whom he would commit the Government of Syria, were known;' conditions which were not accepted, nor was ought granted him, save ships, and a passport to Rome.

After the illness of Germanicus became noised abroad there, and all its circumstances, like rumours magnified by distance, were related with many aggravations, sadness seized the people. They

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burned with indignation, and even poured out in complaints the anguish of their souls : ‘ For this, they said, he had been banished to the extremities of the empire, for this the province of Syria was committed to Piso, and these the fruits of Livia’s mysterious conferences with Plancina. Truly had our fathers spoken concerning his father Drusus, that the possessors of rule beheld with an evil eye the popular spirit of their sons ; nor for aught else were they sacrificed, but for their equal treatment of the Roman people, and studying to restore the popular state.’ These lamentations of the populace were, upon the tidings of his death, so inflamed, that, without staying for an Edict from the Magistrates, without a Decree of Senate, they by general consent assumed a vacation ; the public Courts were deserted, private houses shut up, prevalent every-where were the symptoms of woe, heavy groans, dismal silence ; the whole a scene of real sorrow, and nothing devised for form or shew ; and, though they forbore not to bear the exterior marks and habiliments of mourning, in their souls they mourned still deeper. Accidentally some Merchants from Syria, who had left Germanicus still alive, brought more joyful news of his condition. These were instantly believed, and instantly proclaimed : each, as fast as they met, informed others, who forthwith conveyed their light information with improvements, and accumulated joy, to more ; all flew with exultation through the city, and, to pay their thanks and vows, burst open the Temple doors. The night too heightened their credulity, and affirmation was bolder in the dark. Nor did Tiberius restrain the course of these fictions, but left them to vanish with time. Hence with more bitterness they afterwards grieved for him, as if anew snatched from them.

Honours

Honours were invented and decreed to Germanicus, various as the affections and genius of the particular Senators who proposed them; 'that his name should be sung in the Salian Hymns; Curule Chairs placed for him amongst the Priests of Augustus, and over these Chairs Oaken Crowns hung; his Statue in Ivory precede in the Circensian games; none but one of the Julian race be, in the room of Germanicus, created Flamen or Augur.' Triumphal arches were added, one at Rome, one upon the banks of the Rhine, one upon mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions of his exploits, and a testimony subjoined, 'that he died for the Commonwealth;' a Sepulchre at Antioch, where his corps was burnt; a tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of statues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be easily recounted. They would have also decreed him, as to one of the masters of Eloquence, a golden shield, signal in bulk as in metal; but Tiberius offered 'to dedicate one himself, such as was usual and of a like size with others; for that Eloquence was not measured by fortune; and it was sufficiently glory, if he were ranked with ancient Writers.' The Battalion called after the name of the Junii, was now, by the Equestrian order, entitled the Battalion of Germanicus, and a rule made, that on every fifteenth of July, these troops should follow, as their standard, the effigies of Germanicus. Of these honours many continue, some were instantly omitted, or by time are utterly obliterated.

In the height of this public sorrow, Livia, sister to Germanicus, and married to Drusus, was delivered of male twins; an event even in middling families, rare and acceptable, and to Tiberius such
mighty

mighty matter of joy, that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, 'that to no Roman of the same eminence, before him, were ever two children born at a birth.' For to his own glory he turned all things, even things fortuitous. But to the people, at such a sad conjuncture, it brought fresh anguish, as they feared that the family of Drusus, thus increased, would press heavy upon that of Germanicus.

The same year the lubricity of women was by the Senate restrained with severe laws; and it was provided, 'that no woman should become venal, if her father, grandfather or husband, were Roman Knights.' For Vistilia, a Lady born of a Prætorian family, had, before the Ædiles, published herself a prostitute, upon a custom allowed by our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were, by thus avowing their infamy, sufficiently punished. Titidius Labeo too was questioned, that in the manifest guilt of his wife, he had neglected the punishment prescribed by the law; but he alledged, that the sixty days allowed for consultation, were not elapsed; and it was deemed sufficient to proceed against Vistilia, who was banished to the Isle of Seriphos. Measures were also taken for exterminating the solemnities of the Jews and Ægyptians; and by decree of Senate four thousand descendants of franchised slaves, all tainted with that superstition, but of proper strength and age, were to be transported to Sardinia, to restrain the Sardinian robbers; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they perished, despicable would be the loss. The rest were doomed to depart Italy, unless by a stated day they renounced their profane rites.

After this, Tiberius represented, that, to supply the place of Occia, who had presided seven and fifty years with the highest sanctimony over the Vestals,

Vestals, another Virgin was to be chosen, and thanked Fonteius Agrippa, and Asinius Pollio, that, by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the Commonwealth. Pollio's daughter was preferred, for nothing else but that her mother had ever continued in the same wedlock; for Agrippa, by a divorce, had impaired the credit of his house. Upon her who was postponed, Tiberius, in consolation, bestowed for her fortune a thousand great sesterces *.

As the people murmured at the severe dearth of corn, he settled grain at a price certain, to the buyer, and undertook to pay fourteen-pence a measure to the seller. Neither yet would he accept the name of *Father of his Country*, a title offered him before, and for these bounties, now again, nay, he sharply rebuked such as stiled these provisions of his, *divine occupations*, and him, *Lord*. Hence freedom of speech became cramped and insecure under such a Prince, one who dreaded liberty, and abhorred flattery.

I find in the Writers of those times, some of them Senators, that in the Senate were read Letters from Adgandestrius, Prince of the Cattians, undertaking to dispatch Arminius, if in order to it poison were sent him; and an answer returned, 'that not by frauds and blows in the dark, but armed, and in the face of the sun, the Roman people took vengeance on their foes.' In this Tiberius gained equal glory with our ancient Captains, who rejected and disclosed a plot to poison King Pyrrhus. Arminius, however, who, upon the departure of the Romans, and expulsion of Maroboduus, aimed at Royalty, became thence engaged in a struggle against the Liberty of his country, and, in defence

* Twenty-five thousand Crowns.

of their Liberty, his countrymen took arms against him : So that, while with various fortune he contended with them, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred. The deliverer of Germany without doubt he was, one who assailed the Roman power, not like other Kings and Leaders, in its first elements, but in its highest pride and elevation ; one sometimes beaten in battle, but never conquered in war. Thirty-seven years he lived, twelve he commanded ; and, amongst these barbarous nations, his memory is still celebrated in their songs, though his name be unknown in the Annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own national exploits and renown ; nor, even amongst the Romans, does this great Captain bear much distinction, while, overlooking instances of modern prowess and glory, we only delight to magnify men and feats of old.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK III.

THE SUMMARY.

Agrippina returns to Italy with the ashes and children of Germanicus. The passionate Zeal of the people towards her, and them, and his memory. His funeral; with the behaviour of Tiberius and Livia, on that occasion. Drusus returns to Illyricum, as does Piso to Rome, and is tried as the poisoner of Germanicus, despairs of acquittal, and kills himself. Tacfarinas renews the war in Africa, and is repressed by Apronius the Proconsul there. The trial and condemnation of Lepida Æmilia, for adultery and poisoning. The law Papia Poppæa, long abused, now restrained. Fresh commotions in Africa, by Tacfarinas. Junius Blæsus sent to oppose him. Certain Roman Knights condemned upon the Law of Majesty violated. Revolts in both Gauls, conducted by Julius Sacrovir, and Julius Florus; the issue tragical to the revolters, and their chiefs. C. Lu-
torius,

torius, a Roman Knight, condemned upon the Law of Majesty, and executed in prison. The cure of luxury attempted, and dropped. Drusus made partner with his father in the power Tribunitial. The Priest of Jupiter, not allowed to ballot for a Province. The Greek Sanctuaries, their claims, examined and reformed. C. Silanus condemned for bribery and treason. Junius Blæsus routs Tacfarinas, and takes his brother prisoner. Junia, the illustrious sister of the famous Marcus Brutus, and widow of Cassius, her death and funeral.

A Grrippina, notwithstanding the roughness of winter, pursuing without intermission her boisterous voyage, put in at the Island Corcyra, situated over-against the coasts of Calabria. Here, to settle her spirit, she spent a few days, violent in her grief, and a stranger to patience. Her arrival being the while divulged, all the particular friends to her family, mostly men of the sword, many who had served under Germanicus, and even many strangers, from the neighbouring towns, some in officiousness towards the Emperor, more for company, crowded to the City of Brundisium, the headiest port in her way, and the safest landing. As soon as the fleet appeared in the deep, instantly were filled, not the port alone and adjacent shores, but the walls and roofs, and as far as the eye would go, filled with the sorrowing multitude. They were consulting one from one, how they should receive her, landing, 'whether with universal silence, or with some note of acclamation.' Nor was it manifest which they would do, when the fleet sailed slowly in, not, as usual, with joyful sailors and cheerful oars, but all things impressed with the face of sadness. After she descended from the ship, accompanied with her two infants, carrying in her bosom the melancholy Urn, with her eyes cast steadily

dily down ; equal and universal were the groans of the beholders : nor could you distinguish relations from strangers, nor the wailings of men from those of women, unless that the new-comers, who were recent in their fallies of grief, exceeded Agrippina's attendants, wearied out with long lamentations.

Tiberius had dispatched two Prætorian Cohorts with directions, that the Magistrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania, should pay their last offices to the memory of his son. Upon the shoulders therefore of the Tribunes and Centurions his attributes were borne ; before went the Ensigns, rough and unadorned, with the Fasces reversed. As they passed through the Colonies, the populace were in black, the Knights in purple ; and each place, according to its wealth, burnt precious rayment, perfumes, and whatever else is used in funeral solemnities. Even they whose cities lay remote, attended. To the Gods of the dead, they slew victims, they erected altars, and with tears and united lamentations, testified their common sorrow. Drusus came as far as Terracina, with Claudius the brother of Germanicus, and those of his children who had been left at Rome. The Consuls Marcus Valerius and Marcus Aurelius (just then entered upon their office) the Senate, and great part of the people, filled the road ; a scattered procession, each walking and weeping his own way. In this mourning, flattery had no share ; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of Tiberius for the death of Germanicus.

Tiberius and Livia avoided appearing abroad. Public lamentation they thought below their grandeur ; or, perhaps, they apprehended that their countenances, examined by all eyes, might show deceitful hearts. That Antonia, mother to the deceased, bore any part in the Funeral, I do not find either in the Historians or in the City Jour-

nals, though besides Agrippina, and Drusus, and Claudius, his other relations are likewise there recorded by name; whether by sickness she was prevented; or, whether her soul, vanquished by sorrow, could not bear the representation of such a mighty calamity. I would rather believe her to have been constrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace; and, affecting equal affliction with her, would have it seem, that, by the example of the mother, the grandmother too and uncle were detained.

The day when his remains were repositied in the Tomb of Augustus, various were the symptoms of public grief; now an awful silence, then an uproar of lamentation, the city in every quarter full of processions, the field of Mars in a blaze of torches. Here the soldiers under arms, the Magistrates without the Insignia, the people by their tribes, all cried in concert, that 'the Commonwealth was fallen, 'and henceforth there was no remain of hope;' so openly and boldly, that you would have believed they had forgot who bore sway. But nothing pierced Tiberius more than the ardent affections of the people towards Agrippina, while they gave her such titles as 'the ornament of her country, the 'only blood of Augustus, the single instance of 'ancient virtue;' and, while applying to Heaven, they implored 'the continuance of her Issue, that 'they might survive the persecuting and malignant.'

There were those who missed the Pomp of a public Funeral, and compared with this the superior honours and magnificence bestowed by Augustus on that of Drusus the father of Germanicus; 'that he 'himself had travelled, in the sharpness of winter, as far as Pavia, and thence, continuing by 'the corps, had with it entered the city; round 'his head were placed the Images of the Claudii
'and

' and Julii; he was mourned in the Forum; his
 ' Encomium pronounced in the Roftra's; all sorts
 ' of honours, such as were the inventions of our
 ' ancestors, or the improvements of their posterity,
 ' were heaped upon him. But to Germanicus
 ' were denied the ordinary Solemnities, and such
 ' as were due to every distinguished Roman. In a
 ' foreign country indeed, his corps, because of the
 ' long journey, was burnt without pomp; but af-
 ' terwards, it was but just to have supplied the
 ' scantiness of the first ceremony by the solemnity
 ' of the last. His brother met him but one day's
 ' journey, his uncle not even at the gate. Where
 ' were those generous observances of the ancients,
 ' the Effigies of the dead borne on a bed, Hymns
 ' composed in memory of their virtue, with the
 ' Oblations of praises and tears? Where, at least,
 ' were the ceremonies, and even outside of sor-
 ' row?'

All this was known to Tiberius; and, to sup-
 press the discourses of the populace, he published
 an Edict, ' that many illustrious Romans had died
 ' for the Commonwealth, but none so vehemently
 ' lamented; this, however, was to the glory of
 ' himself and of all men, if a measure were ob-
 ' served. The same things which became private
 ' families and small states, became not Princes and
 ' an Imperial people. Fresh grief, indeed, re-
 ' quired vent and ease by lamentation; but, it was
 ' now time to recover and fortify their minds.
 ' Thus the deified Julius, upon the loss of an on-
 ' ly daughter; thus the deified Augustus, upon
 ' the hasty death of his grandsons, had both van-
 ' quished their sorrow. More ancient examples
 ' were unnecessary, how often the Roman people
 ' sustained with constancy the slaughter of their
 ' Armies, the death of their Generals, and intire
 ' destruction of their noblest families. Princes were
 ' mortal,

‘mortal, the Commonwealth was eternal. They should therefore resume their several vocations.’ And, because the Megalensian Games were at hand, he added, ‘that they should even apply to the usual festivities.’

The vacation ended, public affairs were resumed; Drusus departed from the Army in Illyricum, and the minds of all men were bent upon seeing vengeance done upon Piso. They repeated their resentments, that while he wandered over the delightful countries of Asia and Greece, he was stifling, by contumacious and deceitful delays, the evidences of his crimes; for it was bruited abroad, that Martina, she who was famous for poisonings, and sent, as I have above related, by Cneius Sennius towards Rome, was suddenly dead at Brundisium; that poison lay concealed in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no symptoms of self-murder.

Piso, sending forward his son to Rome, with instructions how to soften the Emperor, proceeded himself to Drusus. Him he hoped to find less rigid for the death of a brother, than favourable for the removal of a rival. Tiberius, to make shew of a spirit perfectly unbiassed, received the young man graciously, and honoured him with the presents usually bestowed on young Noblemen. The answer of Drusus to Piso was, ‘that if the current rumours were true, he stood in the first place of grief and revenge; but he hoped they were false and chimerical, and that the death of Germanicus would be pernicious to none.’ This he declared in public, and avoided all privacy: Nor was it doubted but the answer was dictated by Tiberius, when a youth, otherwise easy and unwary, practised thus the wiles and cunning of age.

Piso having crossed the sea of Dalmatia, and lest his ships at Ancona, took first the road of Pice-

num, and then the Flaminian way, following the Legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garrison in Africa. This too became the subject of popular censure, that he officiously mixed with the soldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters. He therefore, to avoid suspicion, or, because when men are in dread, their conduct wavers, did at Narni embark upon the Nar, and thence sailed into the Tiber. By landing at the burying place of the Cæsars, he heightened the wrath of the populace. Besides, he and Plancina came ashore in open day, in the face of the city, who were crowding the banks, and proceeded with gay countenances, he attended by a long band of Clients, she by a train of Ladies. There were yet other provocations to hatred, the situation of his house, proudly overlooking the Forum, and adorned and illuminated as for a festival, the banquet and rejoicings held in it, all as public as the place.

The next day Fulcinius Trio arraigned Piso before the Consuls, but was opposed by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had accompanied Germanicus. They said, ‘ that in this prosecution ‘ Trio had no part; nor did they themselves act ‘ as accusers, but only gathered materials, and, as ‘ witnesses, produced the last injunctions of Germanicus.’ Trio dropped that accusation, but ‘ got leave to call in question his former life. And now the Emperor was desired to undertake the Trial; a request which the accused did not at all oppose, dreading the inclinations of the People and Senate. ‘ He knew Tiberius, on the contrary, resolute in despising popular rumours, and in guilt ‘ confederate with his mother; besides that truth ‘ and misrepresentations were easiest distinguished ‘ by a single judge, but in assemblies odium and ‘ envy often prevailed.” Tiberius was aware of the

the weight of the Trial, and with what reproaches he was assaulted. Admitting therefore a few confidants, he heard the charge of the accusers, as also the apology of the accused, and left the cause intire to the Senate.

Drusus returned the while from Illyricum ; and, though the Senate had for the reduction of Maroboduus, and other his exploits the summer before, decreed him the Triumph of *Ovation*, he postponed the honour, and privately entered the city. Piso, for his advcoates, desired Titus Arruntius, Fulcinus, Asinius Gallus, Eserninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius. But they all framed different excuses ; and he had, in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Liveneius Regulus. Now earnest were the expectations of all men, how great would prove the fidelity of the friends of Germanicus ; what the assurance of the criminal, what the behaviour of Tiberius, whether he would sufficiently smother, or betray his sentiments.' He never had a more anxious part ; neither did the people ever indulge themselves in such secret murmurs against their Emperor, nor harbour in silence severer suspicions.

When the Senate met, Tiberius made a speech, full of laboured moderation, ' that Piso had been his father's Lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himself, at the direction of the Senate, Coadjutor to Germanicus, in administering the affairs of the East. Whether he had there by contumacy and opposition exasperated the young Prince, and exulted over his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with minds unprejudiced. For, if he who was the Lieutenant of my son, violated the limits of his commission, cast off obedience to his General, and even rejoiced at his decease, and at my affliction ; I will detest the man, I will banish him from my house,

house, and, for domestic injuries exert domestic
revenge, not the revenge of an Emperor. But
for you ; if his guilt of any man's death whatso-
ever, be discovered, shew your just vengeance,
and by it satisfy yourselves, satisfy the children of
Germanicus, and us his father, and grand-mother.
Consider too especially whether he viciated the
discipline, and promoted sedition in the Army,
whether he sought to debauch the affections of
the soldiers, and to recover the province by arms;
or whether these allegations are not published
falsly and with aggravations by the accusers, with
whose over-passionate zeal I am justly offended.
For, whither tended the stripping the corps, and
exposing it to the eyes and examination of the
populace ; with what view was it proclaimed,
even to foreign nations, that his death was the
effect of poison, if all this was still doubtful, and
remains yet to be tried ? It is true, I bewail my
son, and shall ever bewail him. But neither do
I hinder the accused to do what in him lies to
manifest his innocence, even at the expence of
Germanicus, if ought blameable was in him.
From you I intreat the same impartiality ; let not
the connexion of my sorrow with this cause, mis-
lead you to take crimes for proved, because they
are imputed. For Piso ; if the tenderness of
kinsmen, if the faith of friends, has furnished
him with patrons, let them aid him in his peril,
shew their utmost eloquence, and exert their best
diligence. To the same pains, to the same firm-
ness I exhort the accusers. Thus much, out of
the common course, we will grant to the me-
mory of Germanicus, that the inquest concerning
his death, be held rather here than in the Forum,
in the Senate than in the common Tribunals.
In all the rest, we will descend to the ordinary
methods. Let no man in this cause consider

Drusus's

‘ Drusus’s tears; let none regard my sorrow, no more than the probable fictions of calumny against us.’

Two days were then appointed for maintaining the charge, six for preparing the defence, and three for making it. Fulcinius began with things stale and impertinent, about the ambition and rapine of Piso in his administration of Spain; things which, though proved, brought him under no penalty, if acquitted of the present charge; nor, though he had been cleared of former faults, could he escape the load of greater enormities. After him Serveus, Veranius and Vitellius, all with equal zeal, but Vitellius, with great Eloquence, urged, ‘ That Piso, in hatred to Germanicus, and passionate for innovations, had, by tolerating general licentiousness, and the oppression of the Allies, corrupted the common soldiers to that degree, that by the most profligate he was stiled *Father of the Legions*. He had, on the contrary, been outrageous to the best men, above all to the friends and companions of Germanicus, and, at last, by witchcraft and poison destroyed Germanicus himself; hence the infernal charms and immolations practised by him and Plancina. He had then attacked the Commonwealth with open arms; and, before he could be brought to be tried, they were forced to fight and defeat him.’

In every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither his dangerous intrigues in debauching the soldiery, nor his abandoning the province to the most profligate and rapacious, nor even his insults to Germanicus, were to be denied. He seemed only to wipe off the charge of poyson; a charge which in truth was not sufficiently corroborated by the accusers, since they had only to alledge, ‘ that at an entertainment of Germanicus, Piso, while he sat above him, with his hands poisoned the

‘meat.’ It appeared absurd, that, amongst so many attending slaves besides his own, in so great a presence, and under the eye of Germanicus, he would attempt it. He himself required that the waiters might be racked, and offered to the rack his own domestics. But the Judges were implacable, from different motives, Tiberius for the war raised in the province; and the Senate could never be convinced that the death of Germanicus was not the effect of fraud. Some moved for the Letters written to Piso from Rome, a motion opposed by Tiberius no less than by Piso. From without, at the same time, were heard the cries of the people, ‘that if he escaped the judgment of the Senate, they would with their own hands destroy him.’ They had already dragged his Statues to the place from whence Malefactors were precipitated, and there had broken them; but by the orders of Tiberius they were rescued and replaced. Piso was put into a litter and carried back by a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort; an attendance variously understood, whether that officer was intended as a guard for his safety, or a minister of death.

Plancina was under equal public hatred, but had more secret favour; hence it was doubted how far Tiberius durst proceed against her. For herself; while her husband’s hopes were yet plausible, she professed that ‘she would accompany his fortune whatever it were, and if he fell, fall with him.’ But when, by the secret solicitations of Livia, she had secured her own pardon, she began by degrees to drop her husband, and to make a separate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he should make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his sons, fortifying his mind, he again entered the Senate. There he found the prosecution renewed, suffered the declared indignation of the fathers, and saw all things cross and terrible.

but nothing so much daunted him as to behold Tiberius; without mercy, without wrath, close, dark, unmoveable, and bent against every access of tenderness. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote somewhat, which he sealed and delivered to his Freedman. He then washed and anointed, and took the usual care of his person. Late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he ordered the door to be shut, and was found, at break of day, with his throat cut, his sword lying by him.

I remember to have heard from ancient men, that in the hands of Piso was frequently seen a bundle of writings, which he did not expose, but which, as his friends constantly averred, ‘ contained the Letters of Tiberius, and his cruel orders towards Germanicus; that he resolved to lay them before the Fathers, and to charge the Emperor, but was deluded by the hollow promises of Sejanus; and that neither did Piso die by his own hands, but by those of an express and private executioner.’ I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still lived when I was a youth. Tiberius, with an assumed air of sadness, complained in the Senate, that Piso, by that sort of death, had aimed to load him with obloquy, and asked many questions, how he had past his last day, how his last night? The Freedman answered to most with prudence, to some in confusion. The Emperor then recited the Letter sent him by Piso. It was conceived almost in these words; ‘ Oppressed by a combination of my enemies, and the imputation of false crimes, since no place is left here to truth and my innocence; to the immortal Gods I appeal, that towards you, Cæsar, I have lived with sincere faith, nor towards your mother with less reverence. For my sons, I implore her protection and yours; my son Cneius had no

' share in my late management, whatever it were,
 ' since, all the while, he abode at Rome. My
 ' son Marcus dissuaded me from returning to Syria.
 ' Oh that, old as I am, I had yielded to him, ra-
 ' ther than he, young as he is, to me! Hence,
 ' more passionately, I pray, that innocent as he is,
 ' he suffer not in the punishment of my guilt. By
 ' a series of services for five and forty years, I en-
 ' treat you, by our former fellowship in the Con-
 ' sulship, by the memory of the deified Augustus,
 ' your father, by his friendship to me, by mine to
 ' you, I entreat you for the life and fortune of my
 ' unhappy son. It is the last request which I shall
 ' ever make you.' Of Plancina he said nothing.

Tiberius, upon this, cleared the young man of
 any crime as to the Civil War; he alledged ' the
 ' orders of his father, which a son could not dis-
 ' obey.' He likewise bewailed ' that noble house,
 ' and even the grievous lot of Piso himself, how-
 ' ever deserved.' For Plancina he pleaded with
 shame and guilt, alledging the importunity of his
 mother, against whom more particularly the secret
 murmurs of the best people waxed bitter and poi-
 gnant. ' Was it then the tender part of a grand-
 ' mother to admit to her sight the murderers of her
 ' grandson, to be intimate with her, and to snatch
 ' her from the vengeance of the Senate? To Ger-
 ' manicus alone was denied what by the Laws was
 ' granted to every Citizen. By Vitellius and Ve-
 ' ranius, the cause of that Prince was mourned
 ' and pleaded; by the Emperor and his mother,
 ' Plancina was defended and protected. Hence-
 ' forth she might pursue her infernal arts, so suc-
 ' cessfully tried, repeat her poisonings, and by her
 ' arts and poisons assail Agrippina and her children,
 ' and, with the blood of that most miserable house,
 ' satiate the worthy grand-mother and uncle.' In
 this Mock-Trial two days were wasted; Tiberius,

all the while, animating the sons of Piso to defend their mother. When the pleaders and witnesses had vigorously pushed the charge, and no reply was made, commiseration prevailed over hatred. The Consul Aurelius Cotta was first asked his opinion; for, when the Emperor collected the voices, the Magistrates likewise voted. Cotta's sentence was, 'That the name of Piso should be razed from the Annals, part of his estate forfeited, part granted to his son Cneius, upon changing that name; his son Marcus should be divested of his dignity, and, content with fifty thousand great sesterces, be banished for ten years; and to Plancina, at the request of Livia, indemnity should be granted.'

Much of this sentence was abated by the Emperor, particularly that of striking Piso's name out of the Annals, when 'that of Marc Anthony, who made war upon his country, that of Julius Antonius, who had by adultery violated the house of Augustus, continued still there.' He also exempted Marcus Piso from the ignominy of degradation, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often observed, he was incorruptible by any temptations of money, and from the shame of having acquitted Plancina, rendered then more than usually mild. He likewise withstood the motion of Valerius Messalinus, 'for erecting a golden Statue in the Temple of Mars, the Avenger,' and that of Cæcina Severus, 'for founding an Altar to Revenge.' Such Monuments 'as these, he argued, were only fit to be raised upon foreign victories; domestic evils were to be buried in sadness.' Messalinus had added, 'That to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, public thanks were to be rendered for having revenged the death of Germanicus;' but had omitted to mention Claudius. Messalinus

was asked by Lucius Asprenas, in the presence of the Senate, 'whether by design he had omitted 'him?' and then at last the name of Claudius was subjoined. To me, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more of mockery and slipperiness appears in all human wisdom, and the transactions of men; for, in popular fame, in the hopes, wishes and veneration of the public, all men were rather destined to the Empire, than he for whom fortune then reserved the sovereignty in the dark.

A few days after, Vitellius, Veranius and Serueus, were by the Senate preferred to the honours of the Priesthood, at the motion of Tiberius. To Fulcinus he promised his interest and suffrage towards preferment, but advised him 'not to embarrass his Eloquence by impetuosity.' This was the end of revenging the Death of Germanicus, an affair ambiguously related, not by those only who then lived and interested themselves in it, but likewise in following times; so dark and intricate are all the highest transactions, while some hold for certain facts, the most precarious hearsays, others turn facts into falsehood, and both are swallowed and improved by the credulity of posterity. Drusus went now without the City, there to renew the ceremony of the Auspices, and presently re-entred in the *Triumph of Ovation*. A few days after died Vipsania his mother, of all the children of Agrippa, the only one who made a pacific end; the rest manifestly perished, or are believed to have perished, by the sword, poison, and famine.

The same year, Tacfarinas, whom I have mentioned to have been the former summer defeated by Camillus, renewed the war in Africa, first by roving devastations, so sudden that they escaped unchastised; next he sacked towns, and bore away mighty plunder; at last he begirt a Roman Cohort, a small distance from the river Pagida. It was a fort com-

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manded by Decrius, a brave soldier, exercised in war, and now touched with the ignominy of such a siege. Encouraging therefore his men to offer open battle, he drew them up without the walls. At the first shock the Cohort was repulsed; but the resolute Decrius braved the enemies darts, opposed the runaways, and upbraided the standard-bearers, 'that, upon vagabonds, and undisciplined robbers, the Roman soldiers turned their backs.' He had already received several wounds, and his eye was beat out, but still faced the foe, nor ceased fighting, till, wholly deserted by his men, he at last was slain.

Lucius Apronius had succeeded Camillus. As soon as he learnt this defeat, piqued rather by the infamy of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practised an exemplary severity, at this time rare, but agreeable to ancient discipline, by executing with a club every tenth man of that ignominious Cohort, drawn by lot. Such too was the effect of this rigour, that those very forces of Tacfarinas, as they besieged the fortress of Thala, were routed by a squadron of five hundred Veterans. In this battle Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, acquired the glory of saving a Citizen, and was by Apronius presented with the Spear and Collar. Tiberius added the Civic Crown, complaining, rather than resenting, that Apronius had not in right of Proconsul, granted that also. Tacfarinas, now his Numidians were dismayed, and bent against sieges, made a desultory war, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the African observed this method, he, with impunity to himself, mocked and harassed the Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, the allurements and quantities of plunder confined him to his Camp. Hither Apronius Cesianus was, by his father, dispatched with the cavalry and auxiliary

Cohorts, to which was added a detachment of the best Legionary foot ; and, having successfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the desarts.

At Rome the while, Emilia Lepida, who, besides the nobleness of the Emilian family, was great grand-daughter to Pompey and Sylla, was charged with imposing a false birth upon Publius Quirinius her husband, a man rich and childless. The charge was swelled with ‘ adulteries, poisonings, and treasonable dealings with the Chaldeans about the fate and continuance of the Imperial house.’ Her brother Manius Lepidus defended her ; and, guilty and infamous as she was, the persecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compassion upon her. In this Trial, it was no easy matter to discover the heart of Tiberius, with such subtlety he mixed and shifted the symptoms of indignation and clemency. At first, he besought the Senate, ‘ not to meddle with the articles of treason ;’ and presently engaged Marcus Servilius, once Consul, and the other witnesses, to produce the very evidences of treason which he would have appeared desirous to suppress. Yet he took the slaves of Lepida from the guard of soldiers, and surrendered them to the Consuls ; nor would he suffer them to be examined by torture, as to her practices against himself ; he even excused Drusus from voting first, as Consul elect. This some understood as an instance of complaisance, ‘ that the rest might not be obliged to follow the example of Drusus.’ Some ascribe it to cruelty, ‘ for that only with design to have her condemned, that concession was made.’

The public Games interrupted the Trial, and in the recess, Lepida, accompanied with other Ladies of great quality, entered the Theatre. There, with doleful lamentations, invoking her illustrious ancestors, especially the great Pompey, whose statues

stood

stood round in view, the Theatre itself a monument of his raising, she excited such universal commiseration, that the Spectators burst into tears; and uttering cruel and direful imprecations against Quirinius, declared their indignation, 'That to his childless old age, and mean blood, should be given a Lady once designed for the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and for the daughter-in-law of the deified Augustus.' At last, by racking her slaves, her crimes were made manifest, and the judgment of Rubellius Blandus prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment Drusus assented, though others had proposed a milder. That her estate should not be forfeited, was granted to Scæurus, who by her had had a daughter. And now, after condemnation, Tiberius advertised the Senate, that 'from the slaves too of Quirinius he had learnt her attempts to poison him.'

As a consolation to the illustrious Families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the *Calpurnian* house had suffered the loss of Piso, and, just after, the *Emilian* house that of Lepida) Decius Silanus was now restored to the *Junian* family. I will briefly recite his disgrace. As against the Republic, the fortune of Augustus was prevalent, so, in his family, it was unhappy, by the lewdness of his daughter and grand-daughter, whom he turned out of Rome, and with death or exile punished their adulterers. For, to a fault common between men and women, he gave the heinous name of sacrilege and treason; and thence had a colour for departing from the tenderness of our ancestors, and for violating his own laws. But I shall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his severity, as also the other transactions of that time, if, having finished my present undertaking, life remains for other studies. *Silanus*, who had viciated the grand-daughter of Augustus, though he felt no higher in-

indignation than to be excluded from the friendship and presence of the Emperor, yet understood this as a denunciation of banishment; nor durst he, till the reign of Tiberius, supplicate the Prince and Senate for leave to return; and then only trusted to the prevailing credit of his brother Marcus Silanus, distinguished by his illustrious quality, and eminent for his great Eloquence. Marcus having returned thanks to Tiberius, had this answer before the Senate; 'That he himself also rejoiced that his brother was returned from travels so long and remote; that his return home was perfectly unexceptionable, since neither by decree of Senate, nor by any sentence of law had he been driven thence; that to himself however still remained intire the resentments of his father towards him; nor by the return of Silanus were the purposes of Augustus violated.' Thenceforward he remained in Rome, but distinguished by no preferment in the State.

The qualifying of the Law Papia Poppea was afterwards proposed; a Law, which, to enforce those of Julius Cæsar, Augustus had made when he was old, for punishing Celibacy, and enriching the Exchequer. Nor even by this means had marriages and children multiplied, while a passion to live single and childless still prevailed. But, in the mean time, the numbers threatened and in danger by it, increased daily, while by the glosses and chicanes of the impleaders every family was undone. So that, as before the city laboured under the weight of crimes, so now under the pest of laws. From this thought I am led backwards to the first rise of Laws, and to open the steps and causes by which we are arrived to the present number and excess, a number infinite and perplexed.

The first race of men, free as yet from every depraved passion, lived without guile and crimes,

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and therefore without chastisements and restraints ; nor was there occasion for rewards, when of their own accord they pursued righteousness ; and as they courted nothing contrary to justice, they were debarred from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandoned their original equality, and from modesty and shame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence, Lordly dominion was introduced, and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were surfeited with Kings, preferred the sovereignty of Laws, which, agreeably to the artless minds of men, were at first short and simple. The laws in most renown were those framed for the Cretans by Minos, for the Spartans by Lycurgus ; and afterwards such as Solon delivered to the Athenians, now greater in number, and more exquisitely composed. To the Romans justice was administered by Romulus according to his pleasure. After him, Numa managed the people by religious devices, and laws divine. Some institutions were made by Tullus Hostilius, some by Ancus Martius ; but above all our laws were those founded by Servius Tullius, such laws as even our Kings were bound to obey.

Upon the expulsion of Tarquin, the people, for the security of their freedom against the encroachment and factions of the Senate, and for binding the public concord, prepared many ordinances. Hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were composed the twelve Tables, out of a collection of the most excellent institutions found abroad. This was the period of all upright and impartial Laws. What laws followed, though sometimes made against crimes and offenders, were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animosity of the two Estates, and for seizing unjustly withholden offices, or for banishing illustrious Patriots, and to other wicked

wicked ends. Hence the Gracchi and Saturnini, inflamers of the people; and hence Livius Drusus vying, on behalf of the Senate, in popular concessions with these inflamers, whence our Italian Allies were first corrupted and animated with fair promises, then by the opposition of other Demagogues disappointed and deceived. Neither during the War of Italy, nor during the Civil War, was the making of regulations discontinued; many and contradictory were even then made. At last Sylla the Dictator, changing or abolishing the past, added many of his own, and procured some espise in this matter, but not long; for presently followed the turbulent pursuits and proposals of Lepidus, and soon after were the Tribunes restored to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combustions at pleasure. And now Laws were not made for the public only, but, for particular men, particular laws; and, corruption abounding in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth abounded in laws.

Pompey was now, in his third Consulship, chosen to correct the public enormities, and his remedies proved to the State more grievous than its distempers. He made Laws, such as suited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will, and lost by arms the regulations which by arms he had procured. Henceforward for twenty years civil discord raged, and there was neither law nor settlement; the most wicked found impunity in the excess of their wickedness, and many virtuous men in their uprightness met destruction. At length, Augustus Cæsar, in his sixth Consulship, then confirmed in power without a rival, abolished the orders which during the Triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler. These laws had sanctions severer than any heretofore known; as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea

were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges annexed to marriage and fatherhood, and consequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the same, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people, who were the public parent. But these Informers struck much deeper; by them the whole City, all Italy, and the Roman Citizens in every part of the Empire, were infested and persecuted; numbers were stripped of their intire fortunes, and terror had seized all, when Tiberius, for a check to this evil, chose twenty Noblemen, five who were formerly Consuls, five who were formerly Prætors, with ten other Senators, to review that law. By them many of its intricacies were explained, its strictness qualified; and hence some present alleviation was yielded.

Tiberius, about this time, recommended to the Senate Nero, one of the sons of Germanicus, now seventeen years of age, and desired, 'that he might be exempted from executing the office of the Virgintivate, and have leave to sue for the Quæstorship five years sooner than the laws directed.' A piece of mockery this request to all who heard it; but Tiberius pretended, 'that the same concessions had been decreed to himself, and his brother Drusus, at the request of Augustus.' Nor do I doubt but there were then such who secretly ridiculed that sort of petitions from Augustus. Such policy was however natural to that Prince, then laying the foundations of the Imperial power, and while the Republic and its late laws were still fresh in the minds of men. Besides, the relation was lighter between Augustus and his wife's sons, than between a grandfather and his grandsons. To the grant of the Quæstorship was added a seat in the College of Pontifs; and the first day he entered the Forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed to the populace, who exulted

exulted to behold a son of Germanicus now of age. Their joy was soon heightened by his marriage with Julia, the daughter of Drusus. But as these transactions were attended with public applauses, so the intended marriage of the daughter of Sejanus with the son of Claudius was received with popular indignation. By this alliance the nobility of the Claudian house seemed stained, and by it Sejanus, already suspected of aspiring views, was exalted still higher.

At the end of this year died two great and eminent men, Lucius Volusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The family of Volusius was ancient, but, in the exercise of public office, rose never higher than the Prætorship; it was he who honoured it with the Consulship. He was likewise created Censor, for modelling the classes of the Equestrian Order, and first accumulated the wealth which raised that family beyond all measure. Crispus was born of an Equestrian house, great nephew by a sister to Caius Sallustius, the renowned Roman Historian, and by him adopted. The way to the great offices was open to him; but, in imitation of Mæcenæ, he lived without the dignity of Senator, yet outwent in power many who were distinguished with Consulships and triumphs. His manner of living, his dress and daintiness, were different from the ways of antiquity, and, in expence and affluence, he bordered rather upon luxury. He possessed, however, a vigour of spirit, equal to great affairs, and exerted the greater promptness, for that he hid in a shew of indolence and sloth. He was therefore, in the life-time of Mæcenæ, the next in favour, afterwards chief confident in all the secret Counsels of Augustus and Tiberius, and assenting to the order for slaying Agrippa Posthumus. In his old age he preserved with the Prince rather the outside than the vitals of authority. The same

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had happened to Mæcenæ. Such is the lot of power, rarely perpetual, perhaps from satiety on both sides, when Princes have no more to grant, and Ministers no more to crave.

Next followed the Consulship of Tiberius and Drusus, to Tiberius the fourth, to Drusus the second; a Consulship remarkable, for that in it the father and son were Colleagues. There was indeed the same fellowship between Tiberius and Germanicus, two years before; but, besides the distastes of jealousy in the uncle, the ties of blood were not so near. In the beginning of the year, Tiberius, on pretence of his health, retired to Campania, either already meditating a long and perpetual retirement, or to leave to Drusus, in his father's absence, the honour of executing the Consulship alone. And there happened a thing which, small in itself, yet as it produced mighty contestation, furnished the young Consul with matter of popular affection. Domitius Corbulo, formerly Prætor, complained to the Senate of Lucius Sylla, a noble youth, 'that in the shew of Gladiators, Sylla would not yield him place.' Age, domestic custom, and the ancient men were for Corbulo. Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and others, laboured for their kinsman Sylla. Warm speeches were made, and the examples of our ancestors were urged, 'who by severe decrees had censured and restrained the irreverence of the youth.' Drusus interposed with arguments proper for calming animosities, and Corbulo had satisfaction made him by Scaurus, who was both father-in-law and uncle to Sylla, and the most copious Orator of that age. The same Corbulo, exclaiming against 'the condition of most of the roads through Italy, that through the fraud of the undertakers, and negligence of the civil officers, they were broken and unpassable;' undertook

took of his own accord the cure of that abuse; an undertaking which he executed, not so much to the advantage of the public, as to the ruin of many private men in their fortunes and reputation, by his violent mulcts, and unjust judgments and forfeitures.

Soon after Tiberius by Letter acquainted the Senate, 'That by the incursions of Tacfarinas there were fresh commotions in Africa, and that they must chuse a Proconsul, one of military experience, vigorous, and equal to that war.' Sextus Pompeius, taking this occasion to discharge his hate against Marcus Lepidus, reproached him 'as dastardly, indigent, a scandal to his ancestors, and therefore to be divested even of the Government of Asia, his province by lot.' The Senate opposed him; they thought Lepidus a man rather mild than slothful, and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeathed to him, but not impaired by him, he supported his quality without blemish, he merited honour rather than contumely. He was therefore sent to Asia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed, that the appointment of a Governor should be left to the Emperor.

During these transactions, Cæcina Severus proposed, 'That no Magistrate should go into any province accompanied by his wife.' He introduced this motion with a long preface, 'that he lived with his own in perfect concord, by her he had six children, and what he offered to the public he had practised himself, having during forty years service, left her still behind him, confined to Italy. It was not indeed, without cause, established of old, that women should neither be carried by their husbands into confederate nations, nor into foreign. A train of women introduced luxury in peace, by their fears retarded war, and made a Roman army resemble, in their march,

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a mixed host of Barbarians. The sex was not tender only and unfit for travel, but, if suffered, cruel, aspiring, and greedy of authority; they even marched amongst the soldiers, and were obeyed by the officers. A woman had lately presided at exercises of the troops, and at the decursions of the Legions. The Senate themselves might remember, that as often as any of the Magistrates were charged with plundering the provinces, their wives were always charged with much guilt. To the Ladies the most profligate in the province ever applied, by them all affairs were undertaken, by them transacted; at home two distinct courts were kept, and abroad the wife had her distinct train and attendants. The Ladies too issued distinct orders, but more imperious, and better obeyed. Such feminine excesses were formerly restrained by the Oppian and other Laws, but now these restraints were violated, women ruled all things, their families, the Forum and Tribunals, and even the armies.'

This speech was heard by few with approbation, and many proclaimed their dissent, 'for that neither was that the point in debate, nor was Cæcina considerable enough to censure so weighty an affair.' He was presently answered by Valerius Messalinus, who was the son of Messala, and inheriting a sparkling of his father's Eloquence: that many rigorous institutions of the ancients were softened and changed for the better. For neither was Rome now, as of old, beset with wars, nor Italy with hostile provinces; hence a few concessions were made to the conveniences of women, who were so far from burdening the provinces, that to their own husbands there they were no burden. As to honours, attendants, and expence, they enjoyed them in common with their husbands, who could receive no
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‘ embarrassment from their company in time of peace.
‘ To war, indeed, we must go equipped and unin-
‘ cumbered; but after the fatigues of war, what was
‘ more allowable than the consolations of a wife?
‘ But it seemed, the wives of some Magistrates
‘ had given a loose to ambition and avarice: And
‘ were the Magistrates themselves free from these
‘ excesses? Were not most of them governed by
‘ many exorbitant appetites? Did we therefore
‘ send none into the provinces? It was added, that
‘ the husbands were corrupted by their corrupt
‘ wives; Were therefore all single men uncorrupt?
‘ The Oppian Laws were once thought necessary,
‘ because the exigencies of the State required their
‘ severity; they were afterwards relaxed and mol-
‘ lified, because that too was expedient for the
‘ State. In vain we covered our own sloth with
‘ borrowed names; if the wife broke bounds, the
‘ husband ought to bear the blame. It was more-
‘ over unjustly judged, for the weak and uxorious
‘ spirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the
‘ fellowship of their wives, the natural partners of
‘ their prosperity and distress. Besides, the sex,
‘ weak by nature, would be left defenceless, ex-
‘ posed to the luxurious bent of their native passions,
‘ and to the seduction of adulterers. Scarce under
‘ the eye and restraint of the husband, was the
‘ marriage-bed preserved inviolate; what must be
‘ the consequence, when, by an absence of many
‘ years, the ties of marriage would be forgot, as
‘ it were, in a divorce? It became them therefore,
‘ so to cure the evils abroad, as not to forget the
‘ enormities at Rome.’ To this Drusus added
‘ somewhat concerning his own wedlock. ‘ Princes,
‘ he said, were frequently obliged to visit the re-
‘ mote parts of the Empire; how often did the
‘ deified Augustus travel to the East, how often to
‘ the West, still accompanied with Livia? He
‘ himself

himself too had taken a progress to Illyricum, and if it were expedient, was ready to visit other nations; but not always with an easy spirit, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, her by whom he had so many children.' Thus was Cæcina's motion eluded.

When the Senate met next, they had a Letter from Tiberius. In it he affected indirectly to chide the fathers, 'that upon him they cast all public cares,' and named them M. Lepidus and Junius Blesus, to choose either for Proconsul of Africa. They were then both heard as to this nomination, and Lepidus excused himself with earnestness, pleaded 'his bodily frailty, the tender age of his children, and a daughter fit for marriage.' There was another reason too, of which he said nothing, but it was easily understood, even that Blesus was uncle to Sejanus, and therefore had the prevailing interest. Blesus too made a shew of refusing, but not with the like positiveness, and moreover, was heard with partiality by the flatterers of power.

Now at last broke out a grievance which had lain hitherto smothered in the uneasy minds of men. The Statues of the Emperor were become sanctuaries to every profligate, who, by laying hold on these Statues, had assumed the insolence of venting with impunity their invectives and hatred against worthy men. Even slaves and freedmen were thence grown terrible to their masters, and wantonly insulted and threatned them. Against this abuse it was argued by Caius Sestius, the Senator, 'that Princes were indeed the representatives of the Gods, but by the Gods just petitions only were heard, nor did any one betake himself to the Capitol, or the Temples of Rome, that under their sacred shelter he might exercise villanies. The laws were abolished, and finally overturned, if a criminal convict could, in the
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‘ public Forum, nay, at the door of the Senate,
 ‘ assault her prosecutor with invectives and me-
 ‘ naces; Yet thus had Annia Rufilla assaulted him,
 ‘ the whom he had got judicially condemned for
 ‘ forgery; neither durst he seek relief from the
 ‘ law, for that she protected herself with the Em-
 ‘ peror’s Statue.’ Much the same reasoning was
 offered by others: some aggravated the offence
 with greater bitterness, and besought Drusus to
 shew an exemplary instance of vengeance; so
 that she was summoned, convicted of the charge,
 and by his command committed to the common
 prison.

Considius Equus too, and Celiuſ Curſor, Ro-
 man Knights, were at the motion of Drusus, pu-
 nished by a decree of Senate, for forging a charge
 of treason against the Prætor Magius Cæcilianus.
 From this their punishment and that of Rufilla,
 Drusus reaped popular praise, ‘ that by him, liv-
 ‘ ing thus sociably at Rome, and frequenting the
 ‘ public assemblies, the dark spirit and designs of
 ‘ his father were softened.’ Neither did the luxury,
 in which the young Prince lived, give much offence.
 ‘ Let him, it was said, be rather thus employed,
 ‘ his days in shews and acts of popularity, his
 ‘ nights in banqueting, than in dismal solitude,
 ‘ withdrawn from public gaiety, worried with in-
 ‘ cessant distrusts, and fostering black designs.’

For neither was Tiberius nor the impleaders yet
 tired with accusations. Ancharius Priscus had ac-
 cused Cæsius Cordus, Proconsul of Crete, of rob-
 bing the public, with an additional charge of high
 treason, a charge which at that time was the main
 bulwark of all accusations. Antistius Vetus, a No-
 bleman of the first rank in Macedonia, had been
 tried for adultery, and absolved. This offended
 Tiberius, who reproached the Judges, and re-
 called him to be tried for treason, as a disturber of
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the public, and confederate with the late King Rhescuporis, when having slain his brother Cotys, he meditated war against us. So that Vetus was condemned, and interdicted from fire and water. To this sentence it was added, 'that he should be confined to an island, neither in the neighbourhood of Macedon nor of Thrace.' For, upon the division of that Kingdom between Rhemetalces and the sons of Cotys, who being children, had for their guardian Trebellienus Rufus, the Thracians, not used to our Government, waxed discontented and tumultuous; nor did they less censure Rhemetalces than Trebellienus, for leaving unpunished the violences done them. The Cœletæans, Odrysæans, and other very powerful nations, took arms, under distinct Captains, but all equal in meanness and incapacity. For this reason, their armies were not united, nor the war terrible. Some committed ravages at home, others traversed Mount Hæmus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces. The greatest part, and best appointed, besieged Philippopolis, (a City founded by Philip of Macedon) and in it King Rhemetalces.

Publius Velleius, who commanded the army in the neighbouring province, when he heard of these commotions, dispatched parties of horse and light foot, some against those who roamed about for plunder, some against such as rambled from place to place to solicit succours; he himself led the body of the Infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprizes were at once successfully executed, the provokers were cut off; divisions arose amongst the besiegers, and the King fortunately sallied, just as the Roman forces arrived. This gang of Thracians deserve not the name of an army, nor this rout to be called a battle, where vagabonds half-armed were slaughtered, without blood on our side.

The same year the Cities of Gaul, stimulated by their excessive debts, began a Rebellion. The most vehement incendiaries were Julius Florus, and Julius Sacrovir, the first amongst those of Treves, the second amongst the Eduans. They were both of distinguished nobility, both descended from ancestors, who had done signal services to the Roman State, and thence acquired of old the right of Roman Citizens, a privilege rare in those days, and only the prize of virtue. When by secret meetings they had gained those who were most prompt to rebel, with such as were desperate through indigence, or, from guilt of past crimes, forced to commit more, they agreed that Florus should begin the insurrection in Belgia, Sacrovir amongst the neighbouring Gauls. They therefore had many consultations and cabals, where they spared no topic of sedition, 'their tribute without end, their devouring usury, the pride and cruelty of their Governors, the discord that had seized the Roman soldiery since the report of the murder of Germanicus; a glorious conjuncture for redeeming their Liberty, if they would only consider their own happiness and strength, while Italy was poor and exhausted, the Roman populace weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies destitute of all vigour, but that derived from foreigners.'

Scarce one City remained untainted with the seeds of this Rebellion, but it first broke out at Angiers and Tours. The former were reduced by Acilius Aviola, a Legate, with the assistance of a Cohort drawn from the garrison at Lions. Those of Tours were suppressed by the same Aviola, assisted with a detachment sent from the Legions, by Vifellius Varro, Lieutenant-Governor of lower Germany. Some of the Chiefs of the Gauls had likewise joined him with succours, the better to disguise their defection, and to push it with more effect.

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effect hereafter. Even Sacrovir was beheld engaged in fight for the Romans, with his head bare, a *demonstration*, he pretended, of his *bravery*; but, the prisoners averred, 'that he did it to be known to his country-men, and to escape their darts.'

An account of all this was laid before Tiberius, who slighted it, and by hesitation fostered the war. Florus the while pushed his designs, and tried to persuade a Regiment of horse, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and discipline, to begin the war, by putting to the sword the Roman Merchants; and some few were corrupted by him, but the body remained in their allegiance. A rabble however of his followers and desperate debtors, took arms, and were making to the Forest of Arden, when the Legions, sent from both armies by Vissellius and Caius Silius, through different routs to intercept them, marred their march. Julius Indus too, one of the same country with Florus, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to engage him, was dispatched forward with a chosen band, and broke the ill-appointed multitude. Florus, by lurking from place to place, frustrated the search of the conquerors; at last, when he saw all the passes beset with soldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the issue of the insurrection at Treves.

Amongst the Eduans the revolt was as much stronger, as the state was more opulent, and the forces to suppress it were to be brought from afar. Augustodunum, the capital of the nation, was seized by Sacrovir, and in it all the noble youth of Gaul, who were there instructed in the Liberal Arts. By securing these pledges, he aimed to bind in his interest their parents and relations, and at the same time distributed to the young men the arms which he had caused to be secretly made. He had forty thousand men, the fifth part armed like our Legions, the rest with poles, hangers, and

other weapons used by hunters. To the number were added such of the slaves as had been appointed to be Gladiators, covered, after the fashion of the country, with a continued armour of iron, and stiled *Crupellarii*, a sort of militia, unweildy at exercising their own weapons, and impenetrable by those of others. These forces were still increased by volunteers from the neighbouring cities, where, though the public body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of particulars was manifest. They had likewise leisure to increase from the contention of the two Roman Generals; a contention for some time undecided, while each demanded the command in that war. At length Varro, old and infirm, yielded to the superior vigour of Silius.

Now, at Rome, 'not only the insurrection of Treves and of the Eduans, but likewise, that threescore and four cities of Gaul had revolted, that the Germans had joined in the revolt, and that Spain fluctuated,' were reports, all believed with the usual aggravations of fame. The best men grieved in sympathy for their country; many, from hatred of the present government, and thirst of change, rejoiced in their own perils. They inveighed against Tiberius, 'that, in such a mighty uproar of rebellion, he was only employed in perusing the informations of the State-Accusers.' They asked, 'Did he mean to surrender Julius Sacrovir to the Senate, to try him for treason?' They exulted, that there were at last found men, who would with arms restrain his bloody Letters (to the Senate) continually demanding condemnations and executions; and declared, 'that even war was a happy change for a most wretched and calamitous peace.' So much the more for this, Tiberius affected to appear wrapt up in security and unconcern; he neither changed place nor coun-

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tenance, but behaved himself at that time as at other times, whether from elevation of mind, or whether he had learnt that the state of things was not alarming, and only heightened by vulgar representation.

Silius the while sending forward a band of Auxiliaries, marched with two Legions, and ravaged the villages of the Sequanians, next neighbours to the Eduans, and their associates in arms. He then advanced towards Augustodunum, a hasty march, the Standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men breathing ardour and eagerness, 'that no time might be wasted even in the usual refreshments, none of their nights in sleep; let them only see and confront the foe; they wanted no more to be victorious.' Twelve miles from Augustodunum Sacrovir appeared with his forces upon the plains: in the front he had placed the iron troop, his Cohorts in the wings, the half-armed in the rear; he himself, upon a fine horse, attended by the other chiefs, addressing himself to them from rank to rank; reminded them 'of the glorious achievements of the ancient Gauls; of the victorious mischiefs they had brought upon the Romans; of the liberty and renown attending victory; of their redoubled and intolerable servitude, if once more vanquished.'

A short speech, and disheartened audience! For, the embattled Legions approached, and the crowd of townsmen, ill-appointed and novices in war, stood astonished, bereft of the present use of eyes and hearing. On the other side, Silius, though he presumed the victory, and thence might have spared exhortations, yet called to his men, 'That they might be with reason ashamed, that they, the Conquerors of Germany, should be thus led against a rabble of Gauls as against an equal enemy; one Cohort had newly defeated the rebels

' of Tours, one Regiment of horse those of Treves;
 ' a handful of this very army had routed the Sa-
 ' quanians. The present Eduans, the more they
 ' abound in wealth, the more they wallow in vo-
 ' luptuousness, are so much the more soft and un-
 ' warlike : this is what you are now to prove, and
 ' your task to prevent their escape.' His words
 were returned with a mighty cry. Instantly the
 horse surrounded the foe, the foot attacked their
 front, and the wings were presently routed. The
 iron-band gave some short obstruction, as the bars
 of their coats withstood the strokes of sword and
 pike ; but the soldiers had recourse to their hatchets
 and pick-axes, and, as if they had battered a wall,
 hewed their bodies and armour ; others with clubs,
 and some with forks, beat down the helpless lumps,
 who, as they lay stretched along, without one
 struggle to rise, were left for dead. Sacrovir fled
 first to Augustodunum, thence, fearful of being
 surrendered, to a neighbouring town, accompanied
 by his most faithful adherents ; there he slew him-
 self, and the rest one another, having first set the
 town on fire, by which they were all consumed.

Now at last Tiberius wrote to the Senate about
 this war, and, at once, acquainted them with its
 rise and conclusion, neither aggravating facts nor
 lessening them ; but added, ' That it was con-
 ' ducted by the fidelity and bravery of his Lieu-
 ' tenants, guided by his counsels.' He likewise
 assigned the reasons why neither he, nor Drusus,
 went to that war ; ' That the Empire was an
 ' immense body, and it became not the dignity of
 ' a Prince, upon the revolt of one or two com-
 ' munities, to desert the capital, whence motion
 ' was derived to the whole. But now, since he
 ' could not be thought conducted by any dread of
 ' those nations, he would take a progress to visit
 ' and settle them.' The Senate decreed vows and

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supplications for his return, with other customary honours. Only Cornelius Dolabella, while he strove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous sycophancy; by proposing, 'That returning from Campania he should enter Rome in the Triumph of Ovation.' This occasioned a Letter from Tiberius, in which he declared, 'That he was not so destitute of glory, that after having in his youth subdued the fiercest nations, and enjoyed or slighted so many Triumphs, he should now in his old age seek empty honours from a short progress about the suburbs of Rome.'

About the same time he desired of the Senate, that 'the corps of Sulpitius Quirinus might be distinguished with a public Funeral.' Quirinus was born at Lanuvium, a Municipal town, and no wise related to the ancient Patrician family of the Sulpitii, but being a brave soldier, was, for his vigorous military services to Augustus, rewarded with the Consulship, and soon after with a Triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their strong holds in Cilicia. Next, when the young Caius Cæsar was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his Governor, and at the same time paid all court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the Emperor represented now to the Senate, extolled the kind offices of Quirinus, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverse behaviour of Caius Cæsar to himself, and of all the jarring between them. In other instances the memory of Quirinus was not acceptable to the Senate, for his deadly persecution against Lepida, above recited, and for his prevailing power and avarice in his old age.

At the end of the year, Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman Knight, who had composed a celebrated Poem, bewailing the death of Germanicus, and

received a reward from Tiberius, was attacked by an informer. His charge was, 'That during an illness of Drusus, he had composed another, which, if the distemper proved mortal, he hoped to publish with a reward still greater.' This Poem Lutorius had, in the fulness of vanity and ostentation, rehearsed at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and of other Ladies of quality, who were all summoned by the impleader, and all, except Vitellia, were terrified into a confession; she alone persisted that she had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to destroy him had most credit, and it was the sentence of Haterius Agrippa, Consul elect, that death should be his punishment.

This was opposed by M. Lepidus, who spoke on this wise. 'Conscript fathers, if we only regard, with what abominable effusions Lutorius Priscus has defiled his own soul, and the ears of men, neither dungeon, nor rope, nor indeed the punishments peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But though wickedness and enormities abound without measure, yet since in coercions and penalties, we must observe the limits set by the moderation of the Prince, set by precedents made by our ancestors and yourselves; and since we must distinguish the vanity of the head from the malignity of the heart, and words from evil doings; there is room left for a middle judgment, by which neither his offence need escape unpunished, nor we repent of our tenderness or severity. I have often heard our Prince complain, when any criminal had, by a desperate death, prevented his mercy. The life of Lutorius is still untouched; to save it, will no wise endanger the State, nor will the taking it away have any influence upon others. His studies, as they are full of wildness, are likewise empty and perishing;

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‘ rising ; neither is aught important or terrible to
‘ be apprehended from one who thus betrays his
‘ own follies, and makes his court not to the minds
‘ of men, but the imaginations of women. Let
‘ him, however, be expelled Rome, interdicted
‘ from fire and water, and his estate be forfeited ;
‘ which judgment of mine is the same as if he were
‘ charged with high treason.’

Of all the Consulars, only Rubellius Blandus
assented to this opinion of Lepidus ; the rest voted
with Agrippa. Priscus was led to the dungeon,
and instantly put to death. Tiberius, in a Letter
to the Senate, discontended upon this proceeding, with
his usual doubles and ambiguities, magnified ‘ their
‘ tenderness and zeal in avenging thus with severity
‘ even such slight injuries done to the Prince ;’
entreated them, ‘ not to be sudden in punishing for
‘ words ;’ he praised Lepidus, and censured not
Agrippa. Hence an order was made, ‘ that the
‘ degrees of Senate should not in less than ten
‘ days be carried to the Exchequer, and to the
‘ condemned so much time should be granted.’
But to the Senate remained no liberty of revival or
annulling ; nor was Tiberius ever softened by
time.

Caius Sulpitius and Decimus Haterius were the
following Consuls. Their year was exempt from
disturbances abroad, but at home some severe blow
was apprehended against luxury, which prevailed
monstrously in all things that create a profusion of
money. But as the more pernicious articles of ex-
pence were covered by concealing their prices,
therefore from the excesses of the table, which
were become the common subject of daily animad-
version, apprehensions were raised of some rigid
correction from a Prince who observed himself the
ancient parcimony. For, Caius Bibulus having
begun the complaint, the other Ædiles took it up,

and argued, 'That the sumptuary laws were de-
 ' spised, the pomp and expence of plate and enter-
 ' tainments, in spite of restraints, increased daily,
 ' and by moderate penalties were not to be stopped.'
 This grievance thus represented to the Senate, was
 by them referred intire to the Emperor. Tiberius
 having long weighed with himself whether such an
 abandoned propensity to prodigality could be stem-
 med, whether the stemming it would not bring
 heavier evils upon the public, how dishonourable
 it would be to attempt what could not be effected,
 or at least effected by the disgrace of the nobility,
 and by the subjecting illustrious men to infamous
 punishments, wrote at last to the Senate in this
 manner :

' In other matters, Conscript Fathers, perhaps
 ' it might be more expedient for you to consult
 ' me in the Senate, and for me to declare there
 ' what I judge for the public weal ; but in the de-
 ' bate of this affair, it was best that my eyes were
 ' withdrawn, lest, while you marked the counte-
 ' nances and terror of particulars charged with
 ' scandalous luxury, I too should have observed
 ' them, and as it were, caught them in it. Had
 ' the vigilant Ædiles first asked counsel of me, I
 ' know not whether I should not have advised
 ' them rather to have passed by potent and invete-
 ' rate corruptions, than only make it manifest,
 ' what enormities are an over-match for us. But
 ' they, in truth, have done their duty, as I would
 ' have all other Magistrates fulfil theirs. But, for
 ' myself, it is neither commendable to be silent,
 ' nor does it belong to my station to speak out ;
 ' since I neither bear the character of an Ædile,
 ' nor of a Prætor, nor of a Consul. Something
 ' still greater and higher is required of a Prince.
 ' Every one is ready to assume to himself the credit
 ' of whatever is well done, while upon the Prince

' alone

‘ alone are thrown the miscarriages of all. But
‘ what is it that I am first to prohibit, what ex-
‘ cess retrench to the ancient standard? Am I to
‘ begin with that of our country seats, spacious
‘ without bounds; and with the number of do-
‘ mestic, a number distributed into nations in
‘ private families? or with the quantity of plate,
‘ silver, and gold? or with pictures, and the works,
‘ and statues of brass, the wonders of art? or with
‘ the gorgeous vestments, promiscuously worn by
‘ men and women? or with what is peculiar to the
‘ women, those precious stones, for the purchase
‘ of which our coin is carried into foreign and ho-
‘ stile nations? I am not ignorant that at entertain-
‘ ments and in conversation, these excesses are
‘ censured, and a regulation is required. Yet if an
‘ equal Law were made, if equal penalties were
‘ prescribed, these very censurers would loudly com-
‘ plain,’ “ That the State was utterly overturned,
“ that snares and destruction were prepared for
“ every illustrious house, that no man could be
“ guiltless, and all men would be the prey of in-
“ formers.” ‘ And yet bodily diseases grown in-
‘ veterate and strengthened by time, cannot be
‘ checked but by medicines rigid and violent; it is
‘ the same with the soul, the sick and raging soul,
‘ itself corrupted and scattering its corruption, is
‘ not to be qualified but by remedies equally strong
‘ with its own flaming lusts. So many Laws made
‘ by our ancestors, so many added by the deified
‘ Augustus, the former being lost in oblivion, and
‘ (which is more heinous) the latter in contempt,
‘ have only served to render luxury more secure.
‘ When we covet a thing yet unforbidden, we
‘ are apt to fear that it may be forbidden; but
‘ when once we can with impunity and defiance
‘ over-leap prohibited bounds, there remain after-
‘ wards nor fear nor shame. How therefore did

' Parcimony prevail of old? It was because every
 ' one was a Law to himself, it was because we
 ' were then only masters of one City; nor after-
 ' wards, while our dominion was confined only to
 ' Italy, had we found the same instigations to vo-
 ' luptuousness. By foreign Conquests we learned
 ' to waste the property of others, and in the Civil
 ' Wars to consume our own. What a mighty
 ' matter is it that the *Ædiles* remonstrate! how
 ' little to be weighed in the balance with others?
 ' It is wonderful that no body represents, That
 ' Italy is in constant want of foreign supplies, that
 ' the lives of the Roman people are daily at the
 ' mercy of uncertain seas and of tempests: were it
 ' not for our supports from the provinces, supports,
 ' by which the masters, and their slaves, and their
 ' estates, are maintained, would our own Groves
 ' and Villas maintain us? This care therefore,
 ' Conscrip't Fathers, is the business of the Prince,
 ' and by the neglect of this care, the foundations
 ' of the state would be dissolved. The cure of
 ' other defects depends upon our own private spirits;
 ' some of us shame will reclaim, necessity will
 ' mend the poor, satiety the rich. Or if any of
 ' the Magistrates, from a confidence of his own
 ' firmness and perseverance, will undertake to
 ' stem the progress of so great an evil, he has both
 ' my praises, and my acknowledgement that he
 ' discharges me of part of my fatigues. But if such
 ' will only impeach corruptions, and when they
 ' have gained the glory, would leave upon me the
 ' indignation, (indignation of their own raising;)
 ' believe me, Conscrip't Fathers, I am not fond of
 ' bearing resentments. I already suffer many for
 ' the Commonwealth, many that are grievous, and
 ' almost all unjust; and therefore, with reason, I
 ' entreat that I may not be loaded with such as are
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‘ wantonly and vainly raised, and promise no advantage to you nor to me.’

The Senate upon reading the Emperor’s Letter, released the *Ædiles* from this pursuit; and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of *Actium* till the revolution made by *Galba*, flowed, for the space of an hundred years, in all profusion, at last gradually declined. The causes of this change are worth knowing. Formerly the great families, signal for nobility or for riches, were carried away with a passion for magnificence; for in those days it was allowed to court the good graces of the Roman people, with the favour of Kings, and confederate Nations, and to be courted by them; so that each was distinguished by the lustre of popularity and dependences, in proportion to his affluence, the splendour of his house, and the figure which he made. But after Imperial fury had for some time raged in the slaughter of the *Grandeés*, and great reputation brought sure destruction, the rest grew wiser. Besides, new men frequently chosen Senators from the Municipal towns, from the Colonies, and even from the Provinces, brought with them their own domestic parcimony; and though, by fortune or industry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former frugal spirit continued. But above all, *Vespasian* proved the promoter of moderation and frugality, being himself the pattern of ancient Oeconomy in his person and table; hence the compliance of the public with the manners of the Prince, and an emulation to practise them, an incitement more prevalent than the terrors of Laws and all their penalties. Or, perhaps, all human things go a certain round, and, as there are revolutions of time, there are also vicissitudes in manners. Nor, indeed, have our ancestors excelled us in all things; our own age has produced many excellencies worthy of
praise

praise and the imitation of posterity. Let us still preserve this strife in virtue with our fore-fathers.

Tiberius having gained the fame of moderation, because, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had disarmed the growing hopes of the accusers, wrote to the Senate, to desire the *Tri-bunitial Power* for Drusus. Augustus had devised this title as best suiting the supreme power, while avoiding the odious name of *King* or *Dictator*, he yet wanted some particular appellation, under it to controul all other powers in the State. He afterwards assumed Marcus Agrippa into a fellowship in it, and, upon his death, Tiberius, that none might doubt who was to be his successor. By this means, he conceived, he should defeat the aspiring views of others; besides, he confided in the moderation of Tiberius, and in the mightiness of his own authority. By his example, Tiberius now advanced Drusus to a participation of the supreme Magistracy, whereas, while Germanicus yet lived, he acted without distinction towards both. In the beginning of his Letter, he besought the Gods, 'That by his counsels the Republic might prosper,' then added a modest testimony concerning the qualities and behaviour of the young Prince, without aggravation or false embellishments, 'That he had a wife and three children, and was of the same age with himself when called by the deified Augustus to that office; that Drusus was not now by him adopted a partner in the toils of Government, precipitately, but after eight years experience made of his qualifications, after seditions suppressed, wars concluded, the honour of Triumph, and two Consulships.'

The Senators had foreseen this address; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but 'Statues to the two Princes, altars to the Gods, triumphal

‘triumphal arches,’ and other usual honours, only that Marcus Silanus strove to honour the Princes by the disgrace of the Consulship; he proposed ‘That all records, public and private, should, for their date, be inscribed no more with the names of the Consuls, but of those who exercised the Tribunitial power.’ But Haterius Agrippa, by moving to have ‘the Decrees of that day engraved in Letters of gold, and hung up in the Senate,’ became an object of derision, for that, as he was an ancient man, he could reap from his most abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

In the mean time, as the Province of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus, Servius Maluginensis Priest of Jupiter, demanded that of Asia. He insisted, ‘That it was vainly alledged, that such Priests were not allowed to leave Italy; that he was under no other restriction than those of Mars and Romulus; and if they were admitted to the lots of Provinces, why were those of Jupiter debarred? The same was neither adjudged by the authority of the people, nor in the books which ascertained the sacred rites. Frequently, when the Priests of Jupiter were detained by sickness, or engaged in the public, their function was supplied by the Pontiffs. The function itself lay unfilled for two and seventy years together, after the death of Cornelius Merula, and yet the exercise of Religion never ceased. Now if in such a series of years, Religion could subsist unhurt without the creation of any such Priest at all, how much easier might his absence be borne in the exercise of the Proconsular power, for one year? It was to satiate private piques, if formerly the Priests of Jupiter were by the chief Pontiffs debarred from the Government of Provinces. But now, by the goodness of the Gods, the chief Pon-

‘ Pontif was also the chief of men, a Pontif to
 ‘ whom emulation, hatred, and other personal pre-
 ‘ possessions, had no access.’

To these his reasonings several answers were made by Lentulus the Augur, and others, but all disagreeing, so that the result was ‘ to wait for the
 ‘ decision of the supreme Pontif.’ Tiberius in his answer to the Senate, postponing his notice of the pretensions of the Priest of Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to Drusus with the Tribunitial power, and especially censured the ‘ extravagance
 ‘ of the proposition for golden letters, as contrary
 ‘ to the example and usage of Rome.’ Letters from Drusus were likewise read, and, though modest in expression, were construed to be full of haughtiness; ‘ Were all things in the Roman state
 ‘ so miserably reversed, that even a youth, one just
 ‘ distinguished with such supreme honour, deigned
 ‘ not to visit the Gods of Rome, nor appear in
 ‘ Senate, nor begin in his native City the auspices
 ‘ of his dignity? No war detained him; he had no
 ‘ journey to make from remote countries, while he
 ‘ was only diverting himself upon the lakes and
 ‘ shores of Campania, and pleasure his chief avo-
 ‘ cation. With such tuition was he prepared the
 ‘ future ruler of human kind! this the lesson he
 ‘ had learnt from the maxims of his fathers! In
 ‘ truth, the Emperor himself, an ancient man,
 ‘ might find uneasiness in living under the eye of
 ‘ the public, and plead a life already fatigued with
 ‘ age and occupations; but what besides pride and
 ‘ stateliness could obstruct Drusus?’

Tiberius, while he fortified the vitals of his own domination, afforded the Senate a shadow of their ancient Jurisdiction, by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the Provinces. For there had now prevailed amongst the Greek Cities a latitude of instituting Sanctuaries at plea-
 sure,

sure. Hence the Temples were filled with the most profligate fugitive slaves; here debtors found protection against their creditors, and hither were admitted such as were pursued for capital crimes. Nor was any authority found sufficient to bridle the seditious zeal of the people, thus defending the villainies of men, as if the same were the sacred institutions of the Deities. It was therefore ordered, that these cities should send deputies to represent their claims. Some voluntarily relinquished the privileges which they had arbitrarily assumed; many confided in their right, from the antiquity of their superstitions, or their services to the Roman people. Glorious to the Senate was the appearance of that day, when the grants from our ancestors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances of Kings, such Kings who had reigned as yet independent of the Roman power, and when even the institutions, sacred to the Gods, were now all subjected to their inspection, and their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or abolish with absolute power.

First of all the Ephesians applied, and alledged, that ' Diana and Apollo were not born at Delos, according to the opinion of the vulgar. In their territory flowed the river Cenchris, where also stood the Ortygian Grove; there the big-bellied Latona, leaning upon an Olive-tree, which even then remained, was delivered of these Deities, and thence by their appointment, the Grove became sacred. Thither Apollo himself, after his slaughter of the Cyclops, retired for a sanctuary from the wrath of Jupiter. Soon after the victorious Bacchus pardoned the suppliant Amazons, who sought refuge at the Altar of Diana. By the concession of Hercules, when he reigned in Lydia, her Temple was dignified with an augmentation of immunities, nor during the Persian
' monarchy

‘monarchy were they abridged; they were next
‘maintained by the Macedonians, and then by
‘us.’

The Magnesians next asserted their claim, founded on an establishment of Lucius Scipio, confirmed by another of Sylla; the former, after the defeat of Antiochus, the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a testimony of the faith and bravery of the Magnesians, dignified their Temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable Sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from Cæsar the Dictator, for their early services to his party, and another lately from Augustus, with a commendation inserted, ‘that with zeal unshaken towards the Roman people, they had borne the irruption of the Parthians.’ But these two people adored different Deities; Aphrodisium was a city devoted to Venus, that of Stratonicea maintained the worship of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Those of Hierocæsarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, ‘that they possessed the Persian Diana, and her Temple consecrated by King Cyrus.’ They likewise pleaded the authorities of Perpenna, Isauricus, and of many more Roman Captains, who had allowed the same sacred immunity, not to the temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Those of Cyprus pleaded right of sanctuary to three of their Temples, the most ancient founded by Aérias to the Paphian Venus, another by his son Amathus to the Amathusian Venus, the third to the Salaminian Jupiter by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when he fled from the fury of his father.

The deputies too of other cities were heard. But the Senate, tired with so many, and because there was a contention begun amongst particular parties for particular cities, gave power to the Consuls, ‘to search into the validity of their several pretensions.’

sions, and whether in them no fraud was interwoven, with orders to lay the whole matter once more before the Senate.' The Consuls reported, that, besides the cities already mentioned, 'they had found the Temple of Æsculapius at Pergamos to be a genuine Sanctuary. The rest claimed upon originals, from the darkness of antiquity, altogether obscure. Smyrna particularly pleaded an oracle of Apollo, in obedience to which they had dedicated a Temple to Venus Stratonices; as did the Isle of Tenos an oracular order from the same God, to erect to Neptune a Statue and Temple. Sardis urged a later authority, namely, a grant from the Great Alexander; and Miletus insisted on one from King Darius: as to the Deities of these two cities, one worshipped Diana, the other, Apollo, and Crete too demanded the privilege of Sanctuary to a Statue of the deified Augustus.' Hence divers orders of Senate were made, by which, though great reverence was expressed towards the Deities, yet the extent of the Sanctuaries was limited, and the several people were enjoined 'to hang up in each Temple the present Decree, engraven in brass, as a sacred Memorial, and a restraint against their lapsing, under the colour of Religion, into claims of superstition and pre-eminence.'

At the same time, a vehement distemper having seized Livia, obliged the Emperor to hasten his return to Rome; seeing the mother and son lived hitherto in apparent unanimity, or perhaps mutually disguised their hate; for, not long before, Livia, having dedicated a Statue to the deified Augustus, near the Theatre of Marcellus, had the name of Tiberius inscribed after her own. This he was believed to have resented heinously, as a degrading the dignity of the Prince, but to have smothered his resentment under dark dissimulation.

Upon

Upon this occasion therefore, the Senate decreed
 ‘ supplications to the Gods, with the celebration
 ‘ of the greater Roman Games, under the direction
 ‘ of the Pontifs, the Augurs, the College of fif-
 ‘ teen, assisted by the College of seven, and the
 ‘ fraternity of Augustal Priests.’ Lucius Apro-
 nius had moved, that ‘ with the rest might pre-
 ‘ side the company of Herald.’ Tiberius opposed
 it, and distinguished between the jurisdiction of the
 Priests and theirs, ‘ for that at no time had the
 ‘ Herald arrived to so much pre-eminence; but
 ‘ for the Augustal fraternity, they were therefore
 ‘ added, because they exercised a Priesthood pecu-
 ‘ liar to that family for which the present vows
 ‘ and solemnities were made.’

It is no part of my purpose to trace all the votes
 of particular men, unless they are memorable for
 integrity, or for notorious infamy. This I conceive
 to be the principal duty of an Historian, that he
 suppress no instance of virtue, and that by the dread
 of future infamy and the censures of Posterity, men
 may be deterred from detestable actions and pro-
 stitute speeches. In short, such was the abomina-
 tion of those times, so prevailing the contagion of
 flattery, that not only the first Nobles, whose ob-
 noxious splendour found protection in obsequious-
 ness, but all who had been Consuls, a great part
 of such as had been Prætors, and even many of the
 unregistered Senators, strove for Priority in the
 vileness and excess of their votes. There is a tra-
 dition, that Tiberius, as often as he went out of
 the Senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, *Oh*
men prepared for bondage! Even he who could not
 bear public liberty, nauseated this prostitute tame-
 ness of slaves.

Hence by degrees they proceeded from acts of
 abasement to those of vengeance. Caius Silanus,
 Proconsul of Asia, accused by these our Allies of
 robbing

robbing the public, was impleaded by Mamercus Scaurus once Consul, Junius Otho Prætor, and Brutidius Niger Ædile. They charged him with violating the Divinity of Augustus, and with despising the Majesty of Tiberius.' Mamercus boasted, that he imitated the great examples of old, 'that Lucius Cotta was accused by Scipio, Servius Galba by Cato the Censor, Publius Rutilius by Marcus Scaurus.' As if such crimes as these had been ever avenged by Scipio and Cato, or by that very Scaurus, whom this Mamercus his great grandson, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now disgracing by the vile occupation of an informer! The old employment of Junius Otho, was that of a school-master. Thence being by the power of Sejanus created a Senator, he laboured by notorious attempts to triumph over the baseness of his original. Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the most distinguished honour; but eagerness hurried him, while he pushed to surpass first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own very hopes; a course which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, scorning acquirements that came slow, but attended with security, grasped at such as were sudden, though linked to destruction.

Gellius Poplicola, and Marcus Paconius, increased the number of the accusers, the former Quæstor to Silanus, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accused was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beset with a series of hardships, dangerous even to the innocent, when, besides so many Senators, his foes, he was to reply single to the most eloquent pleaders of all Asia, chosen purposely to accuse him, ignorant himself of pleading, and beset with capital terrors,

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a circumstance which disables the most practised Eloquence. Neither did Tiberius spare him, but, with an angry voice and countenance, daunted and interrupted him with incessant questions; nor was he allowed to refute or evade them, nay, was often forced to confess, lest the Emperor should have asked in vain. The slaves too of Silanus, in order to be examined by torture, were delivered in sale to the City-steward; and that none of his relations might engage to assist him, when his life was thus at stake, crimes of treason were subjoined, a sure bar to all help, and a seal upon their lips. Having therefore requested an interval of a few days, he dropped all defence, and tried the Emperor by a Memorial, in which he menaced him with the public odium, and blended expostulations with prayers.

Tiberius, the better to palliate by precedent his purposes against Silanus, caused to be recited a Representation from Augustus, concerning Volesus Messala, Proconsul of the same province, and the Decree of Senate made against him. He then asked Lucius Piso his opinion. Piso, after a long preface of the Emperor's clemency, proposed 'to interdict Silanus from fire and water, and to banish him into the island Gyarus.' The rest voted the same thing, only that Cneius Lentulus moved, 'that the estate descending from his mother Cornelia, should be distinguished from his own, and restored to his son.' Tiberius assented. But, Cornelius Dolabella, pursuing his old strain of adulation, and having first exposed the morals of Silanus, added, 'that no man of profligate manners, and marked with infamy, should be admitted to the lot of Provinces; and of this their character the Prince was to judge. Transgressions, he said, were punished by the Laws; but how much

‘ more merciful would it be to prevent transgressors ! more merciful to the men themselves, more to the Provinces.’

Against this Tiberius reasoned, ‘ that in truth he was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours concerning the conduct of Silanus ; but establishments must not be built upon rumours. In the administration of Provinces, many had disappointed our hopes, and many our fears. Some were, by the great weight of affairs, roused into vigilance and amendment, others degenerated and sunk under them. The prince could not within his own view comprize all things, nor was it at all expedient for him to make himself answerable for the characters of other men engaged in pursuits of ambition. Laws were therefore appointed against facts committed, because all things future are hid in uncertainty. Such were the institutions of our ancestors, that if crimes preceded, punishments were to follow. Nor should they change establishments wisely contrived and always approved. The Prince had already sufficiency of burdens, and even sufficiency of power ; the authority of the Laws decreased when that of the prince advanced, nor was Sovereignty to be exercised where the Laws would serve.’ A popular speech, and the more joyfully heard, as acts of popularity were rare with Tiberius. To it he added, prudent as he was in mitigating excesses, where his own proper resentments did not controul him, ‘ that Gyarus was an inhospitable island, and devoid of human culture ; that, in favour to the Junian family, and to a Patrician lately of their own order, they should allow him for his place of exile the isle of Cythera ; that this too was the request of Torquata, the sister of Silanus, a Vestal virgin of primitive sanctity.’ This motion prevailed.

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The Cyrenians were afterwards heard, and Cæsius Cordus, charged by them, and impleaded by Ancharius Priscus, for plundering the Province, was condemned. Lucius Ennius, a Roman Knight, was impeached of Treason, 'for that he had converted an effigies of the Prince into common uses of silver;' but Tiberius withstood admitting him as a criminal. Against this acquittal Ateius Capito openly declared his protest from an affected spirit of liberty; 'for that the Emperor ought not to snatch from the fathers the power of penalties; nor ought such a mighty iniquity to pass unpunished; he, indeed, might be passive under his own grievances; but let him not give up the indignation of the Senate, and the injuries done the Commonwealth.' Tiberius considered rather the drift of these words than the expression, and persisted in his interposition. The infamy of Capito was the more signal, because, learned as he was in Laws human and divine, he thus debased the dignity of the State, and his own personal accomplishments.

The next was a religious debate, in what Temple to place the gift vowed by the Roman Knights to Fortune stiled the *Equestrian*, for the recovery of Livia; for, though in the city were many Temples to this Goddess, yet none had that title. At last it was discovered that at Antium was one thus named; and as all the religious Institutions in the cities of Italy, all the Temples and Statues of the Deities, were included in the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Rome, the gift was ordered to be presented there. While matters of Religion were on foot, the answer lately deferred, concerning Servius Maluginensis, Priest of Jupiter, was now produced by Tiberius, who recited a Statute of the Pontiffs, 'that when the Priest of Jupiter was taken ill, he might, with the consent of the chief Pontif, be

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absent two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice in the same year.' This regulation, made under Augustus, sufficiently shewed, that a year's absence, and the administration of Provinces, were not allowed to the Priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of Lucius Metellus, Chief Pontif, who restrained to Rome Aulus Postumius, who was under that character. So the lot of Asia was conferred on that Consular who was next in seniority to Maluginensis.

During this time, Lepidus asked leave of the Senate, to strengthen and beautify at his expence the Basilic of Paulus, a peculiar Monument of the Æmilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent in public structures. Nor had Augustus blamed Taurus, Philippus, or Balbus, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the City, and the perpetuation of their own fame. By their example Lepidus, though but moderately rich, revived the venerable glory of his Ancestors. But, as the Theatre of Pompey was consumed by accidental fire, Tiberius undertook to rebuild it, because none of the family were equal to the charge, and promised that it should, however, be still called by the name of Pompey. At the same time, he celebrated the praises of Sejanus, and to his vigilance and efforts ascribed it, that a flame so violent was stopped at one building only. Hence the Fathers decreed a Statue to Sejanus, to be placed upon the Theatre of Pompey. Nor was it long after that the Emperor, when he dignified Junius Blefus with the ensigns of Triumph, declared, 'that in honour to Sejanus he did it,' for, to Sejanus, Blefus was uncle.

And yet the actions of Blefus were entitled to so much distinction. For, Tacfarinas, though often

repulsed, yet still repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arrived to such a pitch of arrogance, that he sent Embassadors to Tiberius, with demands 'for a settlement to himself, and his army,' otherwise he threatened 'everlasting war.' They say that upon no occasion did ever Tiberius, for any insult offered himself, and the Roman name, manifest a more sensible indignation; 'that a deserter and a robber should presume to offer terms, like an equal foe; when even to Spartacus no concession was made of being received and treated under the sanction of the public faith, while, after the slaughter of so many Consular armies, he still carried, with impunity, fire and desolation through Italy; though the Commonwealth was then gasping under two mighty wars, with Sertorius and Mithridates. Much less was Tacfarinas, a free-booter, to be bought off by terms of peace and concession of lands, whilst the Roman people enjoyed the highest pitch of glory and power.' Hence he commissioned Blesus, 'to enage by the hopes of indemnity all his followers, to lay down their arms; but to get into his hands the leader himself, by whatever means.'

So that by this pardon many were brought over, and the war was forthwith prosecuted against him by stratagems, not unlike his own. For as he, who in strength of men was unequal, but in arts of stealth and pillaging superior, made his incursions in separate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, and harass us by ambushes of his; so on our side, three distinct routes were resolved, and three several bodies formed. Scipio, the Proconsul's Lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence Tacfarinas made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongst the Garamantes. In another quarter Blesus the son led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the

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Cirtensians from ravages ; between both marched the Proconsul himself, with the flower of the army, erecting forts, and casting up entrenchments in convenient places. By these dispositions he sorely cramped the foe, and rendered all their movements dangerous ; for, which ever way they turned, still some party of the Roman forces was upon them, in front, in flank, and often at their heels ; and by this means many were slain, or made prisoners. This triple army was again split by Blesus into bands still smaller, and over each a Centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as usual at the end of the season, draw off his forces from the field, or dispose them into winter-quarters in the old Province ; but, as in the first heat of war, having raised more forts, he dispatched light parties, acquainted with the wilderness, who drove Tacfarinas before them, continually shifting his huts ; till, having taken his brother, he retreated, too suddenly however for the good of the province, as there were still left behind instruments to rekindle the war. But Tiberius took it for concluded, and likewise granted to Blesus that he should be by the Legions saluted *Imperator*, an ancient honour, usually done to the old Roman Captains, who, upon their successful exploits for their country, were in the shouts and vehemence of victory, thus complimented by their armies ; and there have been at once several *Imperators*, without any pre-eminence of one over the rest. It was a title vouchsafed to some, even by Augustus, and now, for the last time, by Tiberius to Blesus.

This year died two illustrious Romans, Asinius Saloninus, splendid in his relations and descent ; as Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio were his grandfathers, Drusus his half brother, and himself betrothed to the Emperor's grand-daughter ; and Ateius Capito, already mentioned, in civil acquire-

ments the principal man in Rome; as to descent, his grand-father was only a Centurion under Sylla, but his father arrived to the Prætorship. Augustus had pushed him early into the Consulship, that, by the grandeur of that office, he might be set above Antistius Labeo, who excelled in equal accomplishments; for that age produced together these two ornaments of peace. But Labeo preserved unstained a spirit of liberty, and thence was more the object of popular renown; while Capito gained by obsequiousness greater credit with those who bore rule. The former, as he was never suffered to rise beyond the Prætorship, met with matter of praise from a source of injury; to the other, with the glory of the Consulate, accrued likewise the envy, and with envy hatred.

Junia too, now sixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, finished her course; the niece of Cato, sister of Brutus, and wife of Cassius. Her Will made much noise amongst the populace; for that being immensely rich, and having honourably distinguished with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted Tiberius; an omission which he took civilly, nor hindered her Panegyric from being pronounced in public, nor her Funeral from being celebrated with other customary solemnities. Before it were borne the Images of twenty the most noble families, the Manlii, the Quinctii, and other names of equal lustre; but superior to all shone Cassius and Brutus, on this very account, that their Images were not with the rest seen now.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

The SUMMARY.

The rise and character of Sejanus, captain of the Prætorian guards. His arts and wicked courses to gain the Empire. His court to the Soldiery and Senate; he debauches the younger Livia, wife to Drusus the Emperor's son, and prompts her to poison her husband. The administration changes for the worse, chiefly by his means. Its lenity and plausibleness hitherto. Tiberius, upon the death of Drusus, recommends to the Senate the two sons of Germanicus. Sejanus, in pursuit of his designs, lays snares for Agrippina and her children. Tiberius hears the deputies of divers cities and provinces. The Players and Pantomimes, for their insolent behaviour, banished from Italy. A new priest of Jupiter, with new regulations about his office. The zeal of the Pontiffs and other Magistrates towards the sons of Germanicus, resented by Tiberius, and of fatal tendency to the young Princes.

Princes. C. Silius his accusation and condemnation. A capital charge against Cn. Piso, C. Cassius, and Plautius Silvanus. The war raised by Tacfarinas in Africa, ended by the conduct of P. Dolabella; Tacfarinas himself slain. A servile war ready to break out in Italy, but presently suppressed. Q. Vibius Serenus accused of treason by his own son. P. Suilius and others condemned, particularly Cremutius Cordus the Historian, for praising Brutus and Cassius—his fine defence and voluntary death. His book ordered to be burnt, yet continued to be read. The City of Cysicus bereft of its liberties. Tiberius rejects the offer of a temple and divine honours from the people of Spain. Sejanus, as a step to empire, desires the widow of Drusus in marriage. The artful answer and refusal of Tiberius.—Sejanus, alarmed by this, devises the removal of the Emperor from Rome. Deputies from Greece heard concerning their right to certain sanctuaries. L. Piso commanding as Prator in Spain, murdered by a Peasant. The Thracians of the higher country revolt, and are subdued by Poppæus Sabinus, who is thence honoured with the triumphal ornaments. Claudia Pulchra accused of adultery and condemned. Agrippina desires leave of the Emperor to marry, but is refused. A contest between eleven Asiatic cities about erecting a Temple to Tiberius: Smyrna is preferred to all the rest. Tiberius retires from Rome. His great peril in a certain cave: Sejanus, to save the Emperor, exposes himself: Hence the fresh increase of his power. He suborns instruments to procure the destruction of Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, with a further purpose to overthrow his whole house. The tragical accident at Fidenæ from the fall of the Theatre there, whence many thousands perished. A great fire at Rome. The Emperor shuts himself up in the island Caprea. Titus Sabinus, a faithful friend to Germanicus and

and his family, wickedly ensnared and betrayed. His tragical doom, and its effects upon the minds of men. The death of Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus. The Frisians revolt; the unsuccessful attempts of Lucius Apronius to subdue them. Agrippina the younger given in marriage to Cn. Domitius.

WHEN Caius Asinius and Caius Antistius were Consuls, Tiberius was in his ninth year, the state composed, and his family flourishing (for the death of Germanicus he reckoned amongst the incidents of his prosperity) when suddenly fortune began to grow boisterous, and he himself to tyrannize, or to furnish others with the weapons of tyranny. The beginning and cause of this turn arose from Ælius Sejanus, Captain of the Prætorian Cohorts. Of his power I have above made mention; I shall now explain his original, his manners, and by what black deeds he strove to snatch the Sovereignty. He was born at Vulsinii, son to Sejus Strabo, a Roman Knight; in his early youth he was a follower of Caius Cæsar (grand-son of Augustus) and lay then under the contumely of having for hire exposed himself to the constupration of Apicius, a debauchee wealthy and profuse. Next by various artifices he so enchanted Tiberius, that he who to all others was dark and unsearchable, became to Sejanus alone destitute of all restraint and caution; neither did he so much accomplish this by any superior efforts of policy (for at his own stratagems he was vanquished by others) as by the rage of the Gods against the Roman State, to which he proved alike destructive when he flourished and when he fell. His person was hardy and equal to fatigues, his spirit daring, sedulously disguising his own counsels, prone to blacken others, alike fawning and imperious, his deportment exactly modest,

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his heart fostering all the lust of domination, and, with this view, engaged sometimes in profusion and luxury, often in notable application and vigilance, qualities no less pernicious, when personated by ambition for the acquiring of Empire.

The authority of his Command over the Guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one Camp all the Prætorian Cohorts then dispersed over the City, that, thus united, they might all at once receive his orders, and, by continually beholding their own numbers and strength, conceive confidence in themselves and prove a terror to all other men. He pretended, 'that the soldiers, while scattered, were ' loose and debauched; there could, in any hasty ' emergency, be more reliance upon their succour ' when together; and, when encamped remote ' from the allurements of the town, their discipline ' would be more exact and severe.' When the encampment was finished, he gradually engaged the affections of the soldiers, by affability and familiar usage; it was he too who chose the Centurions, he who chose the Tribunes. Neither did the Senate escape his court, whilst he daily distinguished his followers in it with offices and provinces; for Tiberius was intirely complying, nay, so passionate for him, that not in conversation only, but in his speeches to the Senate and people, he extolled him, as *the sharer of his burdens*, and even allowed his Effigies to be publicly adored, in the several Theatres, in all places of popular convention, nay at the head of the Legions.

But the Imperial house was yet full of Cæsars, the Emperor's son a grown man, and his grandsons of age; and because the cutting them off all at once, was dangerous, the treason which he meditated, required pauses and a gradation of murders. He, however, chose the darkeſt method, and to
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begin with Drusus; against whom he was transported with a fresh motive of rage. For, Drusus, impatient of a rival, and in his temper inflammable, had, upon some occasional contest, shaken his fist at Sejanus, and, as he prepared to resist, given him a blow on the face. As he therefore cast about for every expedient of revenge, the readiest seemed to apply to Livia his wife; she was the sister of Germanicus, and from an uncomely person in her childhood, became afterwards exceeding lovely. As he personated a vehement passion for this Lady, he tempted her to adultery, and having accomplished the first iniquity (nor will a woman, who has sacrificed her chastity, stick at any other) he prompted her to higher views, those of marriage, of a partnership in the Empire, nay, the murder of her husband. Thus she, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, defiled herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, with an adulterer from one of the Municipal Towns, and all to exchange an honourable condition possessed, for pursuits altogether flagitious and uncertain. Into a fellowship in the guilt was assumed Eudemus, Physician to Livia, and, under colour of his profession, frequently with her in private. Sejanus too, to avoid the jealousy of the adulterers, discharged from his bed Apicata his wife, by whom he had three children. But still the mightiness of the iniquity terrified them, and thence created delays, and frequently opposite counsels.

During this, in the beginning of the year, Drusus, one of the sons of Germanicus, put on the manly Robe, and upon him the Senate conferred the same honours decreed before to his brother Nero. A speech was added by Tiberius, with a large Encomium upon his son, 'That with the tenderness of a father he used the children of his brother.' For, Drusus,

fus, however rare it be for power and unanimity to
 subsist together, was esteemed benevolent, certainly
 not ill-disposed, towards these youths. Now again
 was revived by Tiberius the proposal of a progress
 into the Provinces, a stale proposal, but often
 feigned. He pretended for cause, 'The multi-
 tude of Veterans discharged, and thence the ne-
 cessity of recruiting the armies; that Volunteers
 were wanting, or if already such there were, they
 were chiefly the necessitous and vagabonds, and
 destitute of the like courage and obedience.' He
 likewise cursorily recounted the number of the Le-
 gions, and what Countries they defended, a detail
 which, I think, it behoves me also to repeat, that
 thence may appear what was then the complement
 of the Roman forces, what Kings their confede-
 rates, and how much more narrow than now the
 limits of the Empire.

Italy was on each side guarded by two fleets,
 one at Misenum, one at Ravenna; and the coast
 joining to Gaul, by the Gallies taken by Augustus
 at the Battle of Actium, and sent powerfully man-
 ned to Forojulium. But the chief strength lay
 upon the Rhine, even eight Legions, as a common
 guard upon the Germans and the Gauls. The re-
 duction of Spain, lately completed, was maintained
 by three. Mauritania was possessed by King Juba,
 a Realm which he held as a gift from the Roman
 people; the rest of Africa by two Legions, and
 Ægypt by the like number. Four Legions kept
 in subjection all the mighty range of country,
 extending from Syria as far as the Euphrates, and
 bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other
 Principalities, who by our might are protected
 against foreign Powers. Thrace was held by
 Rhemetalces, and the sons of Cotys; and both
 banks of the Danube by four Legions, two in Pan-
 nonia, two in Mœsia. In Dalmatia likewise were

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placed two, who, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former, and had not far to march into Italy, were any sudden succours required there; though Rome too had her peculiar soldiery, three City-Cohorts, and nine Prætorian, lifted chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman Colonies. In the several Provinces, besides, were disposed, according to their situation and necessity, the fleets of the several confederates, with their squadrons of horse and battalions of foot; a number of forces not much different from all the rest; but the particular detail would be uncertain, since, according to the exigency of times, they often shifted stations, with numbers sometimes enlarged, sometimes reduced.

It will, I believe, fall in properly here to review also the other parts of the Administration, and by what measures it was hitherto conducted, till with the beginning of this year the Government of Tiberius began to change terribly for the worse. First then, all public, and every private business of moment, was determined by the Senate; to the great men he allowed liberty of debate, those who in their debates lapsed into flattery, he checked; in conferring preferments, he considered ancient nobility, renown in war abroad, and civil accomplishments at home; insomuch that it was manifest, his choice could not have been better. There remained to the Consuls, there remained to the Prætors, the usual marks of their dignities, to inferior Magistrates the independent exercise of their charges; and the Laws, where the power of the Prince was not concerned, were in proper force. The tributes, duties, and all public receipts, were directed by companies of Roman Knights; the management of his own revenue he committed to those well known to himself for their qualifications, and to such whom he knew by reputation alone; and when once

taken, they were continued, without all restriction of term, since most grew old in the same employments. The populace were indeed aggrieved by the dearth of provisions, but without any fault of the Prince, nay, he spared no possible expence nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenness in the earth, and of wrecks at sea. He provided that the Provinces should not be oppressed with new impositions, and that no extortion, or violence should be committed by the Magistrates in raising the old; no infamous corporal punishments were inflicted there, no confiscations of goods.

The Emperor's possessions through Italy were thin, the behaviour of his slaves modest, the freedmen who managed his house, few; and in his disputes with particulars, the Courts were open and the Law equal. All which restraints he observed, not in truth, in the popular ways of complaisance, but always stern, and for the most part dreaded, yet still he retained them, till by the death of Drusus they were quite abandoned; for, as long as he lived they continued; because Sejanus, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, studied to recommend himself by good counsels, and had then an avenger to fear, one who disguised not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints, "That when the son was in his prime, another was called, as Coadjutor, to the Government; nay, how little was wanting to his being declared Collegue in the Empire? The first advances to Sovereignty are steep and perillous, but, when once you are entered, parties and instruments are ready to espouse you. Already a Camp for the Guards was formed, by the pleasure and authority of the Captain; into his hands the soldiers were delivered; in the Theatre of Pompey his Statue was beheld; in his grand-children would be mixed the blood of the Drusi with that of

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‘Sejanus. After all this, what remained but to
‘supplicate his modesty to rest contented here.’
Nor was it rarely that he uttered these disgusts, nor
to a few ; besides, his wife being debauched, all
his secrets were betrayed.

Sejanus therefore judging it time to dispatch,
chose such a poison as by operating gradually, might
preserve the appearances of a casual disease. This
was administered to Drusus by Lygdus the Eunuch,
as, eight years after, was learnt. Now, during
all the days of his illness, Tiberius disclosed no
symptoms of anguish (perhaps from ostentation of
a firmness of spirit) nay, when he had expired,
and while he was yet unburied, he entered the
Senate, and finding the Consuls placed upon a
common seat, as a testimony of their grief, he ad-
monished them of their dignity and station ; and,
as the Senators burst into tears, he smothered his
rising sighs, and animated them by a Speech ut-
tered without hesitation. ‘He, in truth, was not
‘ignorant that he might be censured, for having
‘thus in the first throbs of sorrow, beheld the face
‘of the Senate, when most of those who mourn
‘can scarce endure the soothings of their kindred,
‘scarce behold the day ; neither were such to be
‘condemned of weakness : but for himself, he had
‘more powerful consolations, such as arose from
‘cherishing and guarding the Commonwealth.’
He then lamented ‘the extreme age of his mother,
‘the tender years of his grand-sons, his own days
‘in declension,’ and desired that, ‘as the only
‘alleviation of the present evils, the Children of
‘Germanicus might be introduced.’ The Con-
suls therefore went for them, and having with kind
words fortified their young minds, presented them
to the Emperor. He took them by the hand, and
said, ‘Conscript fathers, these infants, bereft of
‘their father, I committed to their uncle, and be-
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‘ sought him that, though he had issue of his own,
 ‘ he would rear and nourish them no otherwise
 ‘ than as the immediate offspring of his blood,
 ‘ that he would appropriate them as stays to him-
 ‘ self and posterity. Drusus being snatched from
 ‘ us, to you I address the same prayers, and in
 ‘ the presence of the Gods, in the face of your
 ‘ country, I adjure you, receive into your pro-
 ‘ tection, take under your tuition the great grand-
 ‘ children of Augustus, children, descended from
 ‘ ancestors the most glorious in the State. To-
 ‘ wards them fulfil your own, fulfil my duty. To
 ‘ you, Nero, and to you, Drusus, these Senators
 ‘ are in the stead of a father, and such is the situa-
 ‘ tion of your birth, that on the Commonwealth
 ‘ must light all the good and evil which befalls
 ‘ you.’

All this was heard with much weeping, and followed with propitious prayers and vows; and had he only gone thus far, and in his speech observed a medium, he had left the souls of his hearers full of sympathy and applause. But, by renewing an old project, always chimerical and so often ridiculed, about ‘ restoring the Republic, reinstating it again in the Consuls, or whoever else ‘ would undertake the administration,’ he forfeited his faith even in assertions which were commendable and sincere. To the memory of Drusus were decreed the same solemnities as to that of Germanicus, with many superadded, agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights in surpassing and additions. Most signal was the lustre of the Funeral in a pompous procession of Images, when at it appeared, in a long train of ancestors, Æneas, father of the Julian race, all the Kings of Alba, Romulus founder of Rome, then the Sabine Nobility, Attus Clausus, and his descendents of the Claudian family.

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In relating the death of Drusus, I have followed the greatest part of our Historians, and the most faithful. I would not, however, omit a rumour which in those times was so prevailing that it is not extinguished in ours, ' That Sejanus having by adultery gained Livia to the murder, had likewise engaged by constupration the affections and concurrence of Lygdus the Eunuch, because Lygdus was, for his youth and loveliness, dear to his master, and one of his chief attendants; that when the time and place of poisoning were by the conspirators concerted, the Eunuch carried his boldness so high, as to charge upon Drusus a design of poisoning Tiberius, and secretly warning the Emperor of this, advised him to shun the first draught offered him in the next entertainment at his son's; that the old man listening to this imposture, after he had sate down to table, having received the cup delivered it to Drusus, who ignorantly and gaily drank it off, and this heightened the jealousy of Tiberius, as if through fear and shame his son had swallowed the same deadly draught which he had prepared for his father.'

These rumours current amongst the populace, besides that they are supported by no certain Author, may be easily refuted. For, who of common prudence (much less Tiberius, so long practised in great affairs) would present to his own son, without hearing him, the mortal bane, with his own hands too, and cutting off for ever all possibility of retraction? Why would he not rather have tortured the minister of the poison? Why not inquired into the contriver? Why not observed towards his only son, a son hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that inherent slowness and hesitation, which he practised even in his proceedings towards strangers? But as Sejanus was reckoned the

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framer of every wickedness, therefore, from the excessive fondness of Tiberius towards him, and from the hatred of others towards both, things the most fabulous and direful were believed of them; besides that common fame is ever most fraught with tales of horror upon the departure of Princes. In truth, the plan and process of the murder were first discovered by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, and laid open upon the rack by Eudemus and Lygdus. Nor has any Writer appeared so outrageous to charge it upon Tiberius, though in other instances they have sedulously collected and inflamed every action of his. My own purpose in recounting and censuring this rumour, was to blast, by so glaring an example, the credit of groundless tales, and to request of those into whose hands our present undertaking shall come, that they would not prefer hearsays, void of credibility and rashly swallowed, to the narrations of truth not adulterated with romance.

Now, whilst Tiberius was pronouncing in public the Panegyric of his son, the Senate and people assumed the port and accent of mourners, rather in appearance than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to see the house of Germanicus begin to revive. But this dawn of fortune, and the conduct of Agrippina, ill disguising her hopes, quickened the overthrow of that house. For Sejanus, when he saw the death of Drusus pass unrevenge upon his murderers, and no public lamentation following it, undaunted now in villainy, since his first efforts had succeeded, devised with himself, how to destroy the sons of Germanicus, whose succession to the Empire was now unquestionable. There were three of them, and, from the distinguished fidelity of their Governors, and incorruptible chastity of Agrippina, could not be all circumvented by poison. He therefore chose to arraign her for the haughtiness of her spirit, to

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rouse the old hatred of Livia the elder, and the guilty heart of his late accomplice, Livia the younger; that they might charge her to the Emperor, 'as elated with pride for her numerous issue; and that, confiding in the zeal of the populace, she was panting after the sovereignty.' The young Livia acted in this engagement by crafty calumniators, amongst whom she had particularly chosen Julius Posthumus, a man every way qualified for her purposes, as he was the adulterer of Mutilia Prisca, and thence a confidant of her grand-mother's; (for, over the mind of the Empress, Prisca had powerful influence) and by their means the old woman, in her own nature tender and jealous of her power, was rendered utterly irreconcilable to the widow of her grand-son. Such too as were nearest the person of Agrippina, were prompted to be continually enraging her tempestuous heart by perverse representations.

Tiberius the while, no ways relaxing the cares of Government, but applying for consolation to affairs, attended the administration of justice at Rome, and dispatched the petitions from the Provinces. By a Decree of Senate, at his motion, the City of Cibra in Asia, and that of Ægyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an earthquake, were eased of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus too, Proconsul of the furthestmost Spain, was condemned for arbitrary administration, and for the savageness of his conduct banished into the isle of Amorgos. Carcius Sacerdos, charged with supplying corn to the enemy Tacfarinas, was acquitted, as was Caius Gracchus of the same crime. This Caius was in his childhood carried by his father Sempronius into the island Cercina, as a companion in his exile, he grew up there amongst fugitives, and men destitute of liberal education, and afterwards sustained himself by sordid traffic between

tween Africa and Sicily. Nor thus low did he escape the perils that wait on elevated fortune; but, had not Ælius Lamia and Lucius Apronius, successively Proconsuls in Africa, protected him, he must have fallen an innocent victim to the obnoxious splendor of his illustrious unhappy race, and to the calamitous fate of his father.

This year also brought deputations from the Grecian cities, one from the people of Samos, one from those of Coos, the former to request that the ancient right of Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno might be confirmed; the latter to solicit the same confirmation for that of Æsculapius. The Samians claimed upon a Decree of the Council of Amphictions, the supreme Judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their cities founded in Asia, possessed the maritime coasts. Nor had they of Coos a weaker title to Antiquity; to which likewise accrued the pretensions of the place to the friendship of Rome; for they had secured in the Temple of Æsculapius all the Roman citizens there, when by the order of King Mithridates, such were universally butchered throughout all the cities of Asia and the Isles. And now, after many complaints from the Prætors, for the most part ineffectual, the Emperor at last made a representation to the Senate, concerning the licentiousness of the players, 'that in many instances they raised
' seditious tumults, and violated the public peace;
' and, in many, promoted debauchery in private
' families; that the *Oscan Farce*, formerly only the
' contemptible delight of the vulgar, was risen to
' such a prevailing pitch of credit and enormity,
' that it required the authority of the Senate to
' check it.' The Players therefore were driven out of Italy.

The same year carried off one of the twins of Drusus, and thence afflicted the Emperor with

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fresh woe ; nor with less for the death of a particular friend. It was Lucillius Longus, the inseparable companion of all the traverses of his fortune, smiling or sad, and, of all the Senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reason, though but a new man, the Senate decreed him a public funeral, and a statue to be placed, at the expence of the Treasury, in the square of Augustus. For by the Senate even yet all affairs were transacted, insomuch that Lucillius Capito, the Emperor's Comptroller in Asia, was, at the accusation of the Province, brought upon his defence before them ; the Emperor too, upon this occasion, protested, with great earnestness, ' that from him Lucillius had ' no authority but over his slaves, and in collecting ' his domestic rents ; that if he had usurped the jurisdiction of Prætor, and employed military force, ' he had so far violated his orders ; they should ' therefore hear the allegations of the Province.' Thus the accused was upon trial condemned. For this just vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on Caius Silanus, the cities of Asia decreed a Temple to Tiberius, and his Mother, and the Senate, and obtained leave to build it. For this concession Nero made a speech of thanks to the Senators and his grand-father, a speech which charmed the affections of his hearers, who, as they were full of the memory of Germanicus, fancied it was him they heard, and him they saw. There was also in the youth himself an engaging modesty, and a gracefulness becoming a princely person ; ornaments, which, by the known hatred that threatened him from Sejanus, became still more dear and revered.

About the same time the Emperor made a discourse ' about the choice of a new Priest of Jupiter, in the room of Servius Maluginensis deceased ;

' ceased; for that it was the ancient custom to
 ' name three, born of parents who had in their
 ' nuptials observed the form of Confarreation;
 ' but now that the business of Confarreation was
 ' quite omitted, or by few observed, there remained
 ' not then, as formerly, the same scope for choice.
 ' There were several causes of that omission, the
 ' principal, a want of zeal both in men and wo-
 ' men for that rite, together with the difficulties
 ' attending it, whence they were prompted to
 ' avoid it; besides that the paternal authority was
 ' for ever lost over any son who acquired that
 ' priesthood, and over any daughter who married
 ' him. The Senate therefore ought by some ex-
 ' pedient to remove these discouragements, after
 ' the example of Augustus, who had softened some
 ' rigid usages of antiquity, and adapted them to
 ' the genius of the times.' The Senate therefore,
 having discussed the grounds and qualifications of
 that priesthood, agreed ' to make no change from
 ' the first institution.' Only a Law passed, ' that
 ' the Priestesses of Jupiter, should, in the admini-
 ' stration of things sacred, be under the dominion
 ' of her husband, but be subject, in other things,
 ' to the common treatment of other women.' To
 conclude, Maluginensis the son succeeded his fa-
 ther. And, to raise the reputation of the Priest-
 hood, and warm the affections of the Priests them-
 selves towards sacred solemnities, a present of two
 thousand great sesterces * was decreed to Cornelia,
 chosen Superior of the Vestal virgins in the place
 of Scantia; and to Augusta a privilege granted,
 that as often as she went to the Theatre, she
 should sit amongst them.

In the Consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and
 Visellius Varro, the Pontiffs, and by their exam-

* About fifty thousand Crowns.

ple the other Priests, while they were offering vows for the prosperity of the Emperor, recommended likewise Nero and Drusus to the care of the same Gods, not so much from any tenderness towards these youths, as from flattery, a practice which, when the public manners are corrupt, it is dangerous to exceed in, and alike dangerous to forbear. For, Tiberius, never benevolent to the house of Germanicus, was now provoked beyond all patience, that 'no difference was made between their youth and his years,' and sending for the Pontiffs, examined them, 'whether to the entreaties, or menaces of Agrippina, they had paid that compliment?' And though they denied both, he reproved them, but reproved them gently, for most of them were his own kinsmen, or men of the first distinction in Rome. But in the Senate he made a set speech, warning all of them for the time to come, 'not to intoxicate the giddy spirit of the youths with the pride of over-early and precipitate honours.' He was in truth instigated continually by Sejanus, who urged, 'that Rome was rent into contending parties, rent as in a Civil war; already there were those who boldly called themselves the Partizans of Agrippina; and if no stop were put, the faction would increase. Nor was there any other remedy for the prevailing spirit of faction, than the cutting off one or two of the most formidable.'

With this view he fell upon Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. The friendship of Germanicus was fatal to both; but to Silius there were other exceptions: he had for seven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been distinguished with the ensigns of Triumph; he had subdued the revolting Gauls under Sacrovir; so that from the noise and éclat of his fall, proportionable terror would seize others.

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It was believed by many, that by his own intemperate speeches he had heightened the displeasure conceived against him, while he boasted without measure, 'that his soldiers persisted in obedience, ' when others lapsed into sedition; nor had the ' Empire remained to Tiberius, if in his Legions ' too there had been a thirst of change.' By these pretensions of his, the Emperor thought his own fortune degraded, and too low to recompence such mighty services. For benefits are only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge them; when they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude.

Sofia Galla was wife to Silius, and, for her dearness to Agrippina, hated by Tiberius. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to postpone for some time the trial of Sabinus. Against them was engaged, as an accuser, Varro the Consul, who, under colour of ' revenging his father's quarrel,' gratified, by his own infamy, the vengeance of Sejanus. The request of the accused for a short respite, till Varro ceased to be consul, was opposed by the Emperor, ' for that it was customary for ' other Magistrates to bring particulars upon trial; ' nor ought the prerogative of a Consul in the like ' instance to be infringed, since upon his vigilance ' it depended that no damage accrued to the Commonwealth.' It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius, to shelter under venerable old names the methods of violence lately invented. The Senate is therefore summoned with great parade, as if Silius were to be dealt with by the Laws, or as if Varro had been in truth acting as Consul, and protecting the public, or as if the present domination had been the ancient Republic. Silius made no defence, or only enough to shew by whose fury he was oppressed. To him were objected, ' his confederacy ' with Sacrovir, and thence the revolt so long

con-

concealed, his detestable avarice after victory, and the behaviour of his wife.' Without doubt, neither could be acquitted of public rapine; but the whole charge was brought under the article of Treason, and Silius prevented by a voluntary death the impending condemnation.

His estate however escaped not the cruelty of the sentence, not that out of it might be repaid the money extorted from the Gauls; for none of the Gauls reclaimed it: but the precedent of Augustus*, being now rejected, an exact calculation and payment was made of all the effects of Silius claimed by the Exchequer. This was the first time Tiberius manifested any passion for another man's wealth. Sofia was sentenced to banishment at the motion of Asinius Gallus, who proposed, that half her effects should be forfeited, half left to her children.' Marcus Lepidus, on the contrary, proposed 'the fourth part to the accusers, as the Law required, all the rest to the children.' This Lepidus I find to have been, for those times, a wise and upright man; for, by him the excessive flattery, and cruel counsels of others were often mitigated. Neither did he in these his interpositions neglect a temperament, since he still maintained at an equal height his character with the public, and the favour of Tiberius. Hence I am driven to doubt, whether the good liking of Princes to some, and their antipathy to others, be, like other things, owing to blind fate and the lot of nativity, or whether the difference be determined by the wisdom and conduct of men; and whether it be possible to proceed in a safe path, at an equal distance from abrupt contumacy, and slavish submission, neither courting power, nor threatened by

* Augustus was wont to bestow the fortunes of persons condemned upon their children.

it. Cotta Messalinus, a man descended from ancestors no less illustrious than Lepidus, but of a different spirit, proposed to provide by a Decree of Senate, ' that the Magistrates of the several Provinces, however innocent themselves, and even unacquainted with the mismanagement of others, should yet be equally punished for the crimes of their wives, as for their own.'

The next proceeding was against Calpurnius Piso, a man of noble descent, and an undaunted heart. For, it was he who, as I have related, loudly protested in the Senate, ' that he would abandon Rome, to escape the implacable bands of the accusers ;' it was he who had, in defiance of the power of Augusta, dared to prosecute her favourite Urgulania, and to demand her out of the palace of the Emperor. All which Tiberius passed over for the present courteously ; but in a soul like his, brooding over vengeance, though the transports of resentment had abated, the deep impressions remained. Quintus Granius charged Piso with treasonable words privately uttered against the Majesty of the Emperor ; and added, ' that he kept poison in his house, and came into the Senate armed with a dagger ;' an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropped. Yet for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was put upon his trial, but, through the intervention of a seasonable death, never condemned. Then too came before them the business of Cassius Severus, the exile, a man sordid in his birth, in his life mischievous, but a powerful speaker, who in consequence of the enemies he had made powerful and many without measure, had drawn upon himself an order of Senate, passed with the solemnity of swearing, for his banishment into Crete ; where, by following continually his wonted practices, he excited a combination of old enemies

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ties and new : So that he was now bereft of his estate, interdicted from fire and water, and grew old in exile upon the rocks of Seriphos.

About the same time Plautius Silvanus the Prætor, for what cause is uncertain, killed Apronia his wife, by throwing her headlong. When he was carried by Apronius his father-in-law, before the Emperor, he answered, in confusion of spirit, 'as if, while he was found asleep, and unapprized, his wife had wilfully dispatched herself.' Tiberius instantly hastened to visit the chamber, where were still apparent the marks of his violence and her struggling. This he reported to the Senate, and Judges being appointed, Urgulania the grandmother of Plautius sent him a dagger, which it was believed she did by the advice of Tiberius, in regard of the friendship of Augusta for her. The criminal having in vain essayed to use the steel, caused his veins to be opened. Presently after Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having by charms and potions disordered the understanding of her husband, but declared innocent.

This year, at last, relieved the Romans from a long war with Tacfarinas the Numidian. For, the former Generals, as soon as they believed their exploits had intitled them to the ornaments of triumph, always abandoned the enemy. Insomuch that there were already in Rome three Statues adorned with victorious laurel, and still Tacfarinas ravaged Africa. He was strengthened by auxiliaries from the Moors, who, governed by Royal freedmen under the thoughtless reign of the youth their King, (Ptolemy son of Juba) had exchanged even for war the domestic domination of slaves. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the King of the Garamantes ; not that this King marched at the head of an army, but only detached out light parties, which

were magnified by great distance and report. From the province itself too flowed in all that were indigent in their fortune, all that were disorderly in their lives, the more readily, because the Emperor, after the feats performed by Blæsus, as if there had no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth Legion to be brought back; nor durst Publius Dolabella, that year Proconsul there, retain it, as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince, than the casualties of the war.

Tacfarinas therefore dispersed a rumour, ' that several other nations too were tearing piecemeal the Roman state; hence their forces were by degrees drawing off from Africa; and the remainder might be wholly destroyed, if all, to whom liberty was dearer than bondage, would with all their might, engage them.' By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he begirt the city of Thubuscum. But Dolabella, drawing together what soldiers there were, at his first approach raised the siege, by the terror of the Roman name, and as the Numidians can never stand the attack of our foot. He likewise fortified the proper places, and at the same time executed the chiefs of the Musulaniums, just ready to revolt. Now, because by many expeditions against Tacfarinas, it was manifest that, not by a heavy army and a single onset, such a rambling foe was to be effectually pushed; the Proconsul having therefore called to his aid King Ptolemy, with a body of his subjects the Moors, formed four bands. These he committed to the Commanders of the Legions and Tribunes; certain parties appointed to scour and pillage the country, were conducted by some chosen Moors; he himself moved from quarter to quarter, to direct the whole.

Not long after tidings came, ' that the Numidians had pitched their huts about a ruinous castle,

‘castle, burnt down formerly by themselves, its
‘name Auzea, trusting now to its situation, be-
‘cause it was shut in on every side by vast forests.’
Forthwith were dispatched the horse and foot, a
rapid march, themselves not knowing whither;
and just at dawn of day, with trumpets sounding,
and dreadful shouts, they were upon the Barba-
rians still half asleep, their horses fettered, or strag-
gling loosely at grass. The Romans were come pre-
pared, their foot in close array, their troops mar-
shalled, all things disposed for battle; the enemy,
on the contrary, intirely unapprized, without arms,
or order, or counsel, were, with the passiveness of
sheep, caught, slaughtered, and dragged away
captive. The soldiers, embittered by the remem-
brance of all their labours, and against a foe which
had so long eluded the fight so often courted, had
each his fill of vengeance and blood. Through all
the ranks the word ran, ‘that they must particu-
‘larly make sure of Tacfarinas, known to them
‘all by so many conflicts; nothing besides killing
‘the leader could extinguish the war.’ His Guards
were already fallen round him, his son was already
in bonds, and the Romans on every side pouring
upon him; he therefore desperately rushed amongst
the darts, and by a death accompanied with many
of ours, escaped captivity. And thus was an end
put to the war.

Dolabella desired the ensigns of triumph, but
was refused by Tiberius, in compliment to Seja-
nus, that the late glory of his uncle Blæsus might
not thence be obliterated. But this derived no new
lustre upon Blæsus, while to Dolabella more glory
accrued from honour denied, since with a smaller
army he had slain the General, led many distin-
guished captives, and bore the renown of having
wholly concluded the war. He was also attended
with Embassadors from the Garamantes, a rare

fight in Rome ! That nation, struck with the death of Tacfarinas, and conscious of guilt, had sent them to appease the resentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of Ptolemy, during that war was known, in his favour was revived a custom of remote antiquity, and one of the Senators sent to deliver him the ivory staff and painted robe ; (the usual presents of the ancient Roman Senate) and to salute him *King, Friend, and Confederate.*

The same summer, the seeds of a servile war spreading through Italy, were by chance suppressed. The author of the stir was Titus Curtius, formerly a soldier of the Prætorian Guards. His first essays were at clandestine meetings in Brundisium, and the neighbouring towns ; afterwards by declarations publicly hung up, he was inciting to liberty the Agrarian slaves, who, from living in wild and remote forests, were themselves wild and fierce ; when, as it were, by the benignity of the Gods, three galleys belonging to the merchants landed on that coast. Curtius Lupus too, the Quæstor, was then in these parts, as to him had fallen for his jurisdiction, according to ancient establishment, the restraining of robberies in the woods and roads of the forests. Lupus marshalled the seamen, and by them defeated the conspiracy, just breaking out ; so that Staius the Tribune dispatched thither by the Emperor, with a stout band, dragged the leader himself and his most resolute partizans to Rome, which was already in a terror, on account of the multitude of domestic slaves, that were still augmenting immensely, while the genuine commonalty daily dwindled.

During the same Consuls, were brought into the Senate a father arraigned, and his son the accuser, both named Vibius Serenus ; a sad example of horror and calamity of the times ! the father already an exile, now haled back to a fresh trial, covered with

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ragged and nastiness, then too bound in chains, heard himself impleaded by his son. The young man, dressed with mighty elegance, with a countenance chearful and elate, alledged 'a plot framed against the Emperor, and that some of the conspirators were sent into Gaul, to instigate a rebellion there.' Thus he became against his father a witness as well as an informer. He likewise charged Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly Prætor, 'with having furnished money.' Cornutus had, in truth, with his own hands dispatched himself, only from the pain of anxiety, and because he held accusation for a certain signal of destruction. The accused, on the other side, with a spirit nothing dejected, turning full upon his son, and shaking his chains, invoked 'the avenging Gods, that to himself they would first restore his place of exile, where, far from such direful doings he might pass his days; and that just vengeance might one day overtake his son.' He insisted too, 'that Cornutus was innocent, and only terrified with forged crimes, as might be easily learnt, if other accomplices were produced; for it was not probable that, with one confederate only, he should have meditated the murder of the Prince, and a change of the State.'

The accuser then named Cneius Lentulus, and Seius Tubero, to the great confusion of Tiberius, when men of the first figure in Rome, his own intimate friends, Lentulus extremely old, Tubero broken with infirmities, were charged with devising hostile insurrections against the State. But they were both passed over without a pause. Against the father his slaves were examined upon the rack; and their examination went against the accuser, who, distracted with guilt, and frightened besides with the threatnings of the populace, dooming him

to the dungeon, the rack, and the pains of perdition, fled out of Rome. He was dragged back from Ravenna, and compelled to prosecute his accusation; Tiberius, no wise concealing his old hatred to the exile Serenus, for that, after the condemnation of Libo, he had by letters upbraided the Emperor, that his signal zeal in that trial remained without reward; he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the tender ears of a Prince naturally proud and prone to resentment. His words were eight years after rehearsed by Tiberius, who also charged him with many misdemeanors during that interval, though through the obstinacy of his slaves nothing, he said, could be discovered by torture.

The votes being taken, and Serenus sentenced to death, according to the rigour of antiquity, Tiberius, to soften the public odium, opposed it. Then Asinius Gallus proposed, 'to shut him up in the isle of Gyarus or Donusa:' a motion which Tiberius also rejected, arguing, 'that both these isles were destitute of water, and that to whom they granted life, the conveniencies of life ought likewise to be granted.' Thus Serenus was carried back to Amorgos. And now that Cornutus had died by his own hands, it was moved, 'to abrogate the rewards of the accusers, as often as any person, charged with treason, should, before judgment passed, put an end to his own life.' And this motion had been followed, but that Tiberius complained, with sternness, and now, contrary to his wonted reserves, an open advocate for the accusers, 'that by it the laws would be defeated, and the Commonwealth overthrown; let them rather, he said, dissolve the laws, than dismiss their guardians.' Thus the accusers, a sort of men formed for the destruction of human

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kind, and indeed, by no pains or terrors, ever sufficiently curbed, were now allured and prompted by wages.

In such a continued series of doleful proceedings, a small instance of joy intervened; Caius Cominius a Roman Knight, convicted of a scurrilous Poem against the Emperor, was pardoned by him at the supplication of his brother, who was a Senator. Hence it was reckoned the more astonishing, that he who knew better things, and what public renown attended clemency, should yet rather chuse the ways of tyranny and horror. For neither did he transgress through want of discernment; nor is it ever too intricate to be distinguished, whether the doings of Princes be applauded with sincerity, or whether only with the false guise of joy. Nay, Tiberius himself, who, upon other occasions, studied his words, and whose speech seemed to labour, yet, whenever he spoke as an advocate, spoke with readiness and volubility. At this time, Publius Suius, formerly Quæstor to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a Judge, was, for his punishment, to be expelled Italy; a sentence too mild for the Emperor, who adjudged him to banishment into an Island, with such impetuosity, that, with the tie and solemnity of an oath, he declared it 'for the interest of the Common-wealth;' a behaviour which at that time was sharply censured, but turned afterwards to his praise, when Suius was again returned to Rome, a following reign saw that exile a powerful minion, and an abandoned mercenary, one who long possessed the confidence of Claudius powerfully, but never honestly. Catus Firmius the Senator, was adjudged to the same punishment, 'for having forged treasonable crimes against his own sister.' Catus, as I have before declared, had lured Libo into his pernicious snares,

and then, by informing against him, procured his overthrow. Tiberius, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, besought a reversal of the sentence of banishment, but to his expulsion from the Senate, made no opposition.

I am aware, that most of the transactions which I have already related, or shall hereafter relate, may, perhaps, appear minute, and too trivial to be remembered. But, none must compare these my Annals with the writings of those who compiled the Story of the ancient Roman people. They had for their subjects mighty wars, potent cities sacked, great Kings routed and taken captive ; or, if they sometimes reviewed the domestic affairs of Rome, they there found the mutual strife and animosities of the Consuls and Tribunes, the Agrarian and Frumentary laws, pushed and opposed, and the struggles between the Nobles and Populace ; noble topics, and recounted by the old Historians with free scope. To me remains a streightened task, and void of glory, steady peace, or short intervals of war, the proceedings at Rome sad and tragical, and a Prince careless of extending the Empire. Nor yet will it be without its profit to look minutely into such transactions, as, however small at first view, give often rise and motion to great events.

For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rulers. The frame of a state chosen and compacted out of all these three, is easier applauded than accomplished, or if accomplished, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief sway ; it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be humoured and restrained ; and such too who were thoroughly acquainted

quainted with the spirit of the Senate and leading men, came to be esteemed skilful in the times, and men of prowess : so now, when that establishment is changed, and the present situation such, that one rules all ; it is of of advantage to collect and record these later incidents, as matters of public example and instruction ; since few can, by their own wisdom, distinguish between things crooked and upright, few between counsels pernicious and profitable, and since most men are taught by the fate and example of others. But the present detail, however instructive, yet brings scanty delight. It is by the descriptions and accounts of nations, by the variety of battles, by the memorable fall of illustrious Captains, that the soul of the reader is engaged and refreshed. For myself, I can only give a sad display of cruel orders, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the destruction of innocents, and endless trials, all attended with the same issue, death and condemnation ; an obvious round of repetition and satiety ! Besides that the old Historians are rarely censured ; nor is any man now concerned whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under Tiberius suffered punishment, or were marked with infamy, the posterity are still subsisting ; or if the families themselves are extinct, there are others found, who from a similitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themselves are charged : nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expose in a light too obvious the opposite characters. But I return to my undertaking.

Whilst Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa were Consuls, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned ; for that, ‘ having published Annals, and in them ‘ praised Brutus, he had stiled Cassius the last of ‘ the Romans ;’ a new crime, then first created.

Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta were his accusers, creatures of Sejanus ; a mortal omen this to be accused ; besides that Tiberius received his defence with an implacable countenance. He began it on on this wise, casting away all hopes of life :

‘ As to facts, I am so guiltless, Conscript Fathers, that my words only are accused ; but neither are any words of mine pointed against the Emperor, or his Mother, the only persons comprehended in the Law concerning violated Majesty. It is alledged, that I have praised Brutus and Cassius, men whose lives and actions have been compiled by a cloud of writers, and their memory treated by none but with honour. Titus Livius, an historian eminently famous for eloquence and veracity, celebrated Pompey with such abundant encomiums, that he was thence by Augustus named Pompeianus ; nor did this prejudice their common friendship. Neither Scipio, nor Afranius, nor even this same Cassius, nor this same Brutus, are any where mentioned by him as *traitors* and *parricides*, the common nicknames now bestowed on them, but often as great and memorable men. The writings of Asinius Pollio have conveyed down the memory of the same men under honourable characters. Corvinus Messala gloried to have had Cassius for his General : Yet both Pollio and Corvinus became signally powerful in wealth and honours under Augustus. That Book of Cicero’s, in which he exalted Cato to the skies, what other animadversion did it draw from Cæsar the Dictator, than a written reply, in the same stile and equality as if before his Judges he had made it ? The letters of Marc Anthony, the speeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches, and recriminations, against Augustus, false in truth, but urged with signal asperity. The Poems of Bi-

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‘ baculus and those of Catullus, stuffed with virulent satires against the Cæsars, are still read. But even the deified Julius, even the deified Augustus, bore all these invectives, and left them unsuppressed, whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot easily say. For, if they are despised, they fade away; if you wax wrath, you seem to avow them for true.

‘ Instances from the Greeks I bring none: with them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished; or if any correction be returned, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever allowed, without restriction or rebuke, to pass our judgment upon those whom death has withdrawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are Cassius and Brutus now in arms? Do they at present fill with troops the fields of Philippi? Or do I fire the Roman people, by inflammatory harangues, with the spirit of civil rage? Brutus and Cassius, now above seventy years slain, are still known in their Statues, which even the conqueror did not abolish; and what do the Historians, but preserve their characters? Impartial posterity to every man repays his proper praise; nor will there be wanting such as, if my death is determined, will not only revive the story of Cassius and Brutus, but even my story.’ Having thus said, he withdrew from the Senate, and ended his life by abstinence. The Fathers condemned the Books to be burned by the Ædiles; but they still continued to be secretly dispersed. Hence we may justly mock the stupidity of those, who imagine that they can, by present power, extinguish the lights and memory of succeeding times; for, quite otherwise, the punishment of writers exalts the credit of the writings; nor did ever foreign Kings, or any else, who exercised the like

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cruelty, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themselves, and glory to the sufferers.

Now for this whole year the course of accusations was so constant, that even during the solemnity of the Latin festival, when Drusus for his inauguration, as Governor of Rome, had ascended the Tribunal, he was accosted by Calpurnius Salvianus with a charge against Sextus Marius; a proceeding openly resented by the Emperor, and thence Salvianus was banished. The city of Cyzicus was accused, 'of not observing the worship ' of the deified Augustus;' with additional crimes, 'of violences committed upon some Roman citizens.' Thus that city lost her liberties, which by her behaviour during the Mithridatic war, she had purchased, having in it sustained a siege, and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of Lucullus, repulsed the King. But Fonteius Capito, who had as Proconsul governed Asia, was acquitted, upon proof that the crimes brought against him by Vibius Serenus were forged. Yet the forgery drew no penalty upon Serenus; nay, the public hate rendered him the more secure; for, every accuser, the more eager and incessant he was, the more sacred and inviolable he became. Only the sorry and impotent were surrendered to chastisement.

About the same time, the furthestmost Spain besought the Senate by their ambassadors, 'that, after the example of Asia, they might erect a ' Temple to Tiberius and his Mother.' Upon this occasion, the Emperor, always resolute in condemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute those, who exposed him to the popular censure, of having deviated into ambition, spoke in this manner. 'I know, Conscrip't Fathers, ' that it is ascribed to a defect of firmness in me, ' that when the cities of Asia petitioned for this
very

' very thing, I withstood them not. I shall there-
' fore now unfold at once the motives of my
' silence then, and the rules which for the future I
' am determined to observe. Since the deified Au-
' gustus had not opposed the founding at Perga-
' mus a Temple to himself and the city of Rome,
' I, with whom all his actions and sayings have
' the force of laws, followed an example already
' approved, because to the worship bestowed upon
' me, that of the Senate was annexed. But as
' the indulging of this, in one instance, will find
' pardon; so a general latitude of being adored
' through every province, under the sacred repre-
' sentations of the Deities, would denote a vain
' spirit, a heart swelled with ambition. The glory
' too of Augustus will vanish, if by the promif-
' cuous courtship of flattery it comes to be pro-
' stituted.

' For myself, Conscript Fathers, I am a mortal
' man; I am confined to the functions of human
' nature; and if I well supply the principal place
' amongst you, it suffices me. This I acknow-
' ledge to you, and this acknowledgment I would
' have posterity to remember. They will do
' abundant right to my memory, if they believe
' me to have been worthy of my ancestors, watch-
' ful of the Roman state, unmoved in perils, and
' in maintaining the public interest, fearless of pri-
' vate enmities. These are the Temples which
' in your breasts I would raise, these the fairest
' pourtraitures, and such as will endure. As to
' Temples and Statues of stone, if the Idol adored
' in them come to be hated by posterity, they are
' despised as his sepulchres. I here therefore in-
' voke the Gods, that to the end of my life they
' would grant me a spirit undisturbed, and discern-
' ing in duties human and divine: hence too I
' here implore our Citizens and Allies, that when-
ever

‘ ever my dissolution comes, they would with appro-
 ‘ bation and benevolent testimonies of remem-
 ‘ brance, celebrate my actions and retain the
 ‘ odour of my name.’ And thenceforward he per-
 severed in slighting, upon all occasions, and even
 in private conversation, this divine worship of
 himself. A conduct by some ascribed to modesty,
 by many to a conscious diffidence, by others to
 degeneracy of spirit; ‘ since the most sublime
 ‘ amongst men naturally covet the most exalted ho-
 ‘ nours: thus Hercules and Bacchus amongst the
 ‘ Greeks, and with us Romulus, were added to
 ‘ the society of the Gods. Augustus too had
 ‘ chosen the nobler part, and hoped for deification.
 ‘ All the other gratifications of Princes were in-
 ‘ stantly procured; one only was to be pursued in-
 ‘ satiable, the praise and perpetuity of their name.
 ‘ For by contemning fame, the virtues that pro-
 ‘ cure it, are contemned.’

Now Sejanus, intoxicated with excess or for-
 tune, and moreover stimulated by the importunity
 of Livia, who, with the restless passion of a woman,
 craved the promised marriage, composed a Memo-
 rial to the Emperor. For, it was then the custom
 to apply to him in writing, though he were pre-
 sent. This of Sejanus was thus conceived; ‘ that
 ‘ such had been towards him the benevolence of
 ‘ Augustus, such and so numerous, since, the in-
 ‘ stances of affection from Tiberius, that he was
 ‘ thence accustomed, without applying to the Gods,
 ‘ to carry his hopes and prayers directly to the
 ‘ Emperors. Yet of them he had never sought a
 ‘ blaze of honours; watching and toils like those
 ‘ of common soldiers, for the safe-guard of the
 ‘ Prince, had been his choice and ambition. How-
 ‘ ever, what was most glorious for him he had at-
 ‘ tained, to be thought worthy of alliance with
 ‘ the Emperor; hence the source of his present

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‘ hopes, and, since he had heard that Augustus,
‘ in the disposal of his daughter, had not been
‘ without thoughts even of some of the Roman
‘ Knights; he begged, that if a husband were
‘ sought for Livia, Tiberius wou’d remember his
‘ friend, one whose ambition aimed no higher than
‘ the pure and disinterested glory of the affinity.
‘ For he would never abandon the burden of his
‘ present trust, but hold it sufficient to be enabled
‘ to support his house against the injurious wrath
‘ of Agrippina; and in this he only consulted the
‘ security of his children. For himself; his own
‘ life would be abundantly long, whenever finally
‘ spent in the ministry of such a Prince.’

For a present answer, Tiberius praised the loyalty of Sejanus, civilly recounted the instances of his own favours towards him, and required time, as it were for a thorough deliberation. At last he made this reply; ‘ that all other men were, in their
‘ pursuits, guided by the notions of conveniency;
‘ far different was the lot and situation of Princes,
‘ who were in their actions to consider chiefly the
‘ applause and good liking of the public. He
‘ therefore did not delude Sejanus with an obvious
‘ and plausible answer; that Livia could herself
‘ determine whether, after Drusus, she ought
‘ again to marry, or still persist his widow, and
‘ that she had a mother and grand-mother, nearer
‘ relations and more interested, to advise. He
‘ would deal more candidly with him; and first as
‘ to the enmity of Agrippina, it would flame out
‘ with fresh fury, if, by the marriage of Livia, the
‘ family of the Cæsars were rent, as it were, into
‘ two contending parties; even as things stood,
‘ the emulation of these Ladies broke into frequent
‘ sallies, and, by their animosities, his grand-sons
‘ were instigated different ways. What would be
‘ the consequence, if, by such a marriage, the
‘ strife

' strife were inflamed: For you are deceived, Se-
 ' janus, if you think to continue then in the same
 ' rank as now; or that Livia, she who was first
 ' the wife of the young Caius Cæsar, and afterwards
 ' of Drusus, will be of a temper to grow old with
 ' a husband no higher than a Roman Knight. Nay,
 ' allowing that I suffered you afterwards to remain
 ' what you are; do you believe that they who saw
 ' her father, they who saw her brother, and the
 ' ancestors of our house, covered with the supreme
 ' dignities, will ever suffer it? You, in truth, pro-
 ' pose, to stand still in the same station; but the
 ' great Magistrates and Grandees of the state,
 ' those very Magistrates and Grandees who, in
 ' spite of yourself, break in upon you, and in all
 ' affairs court you as their Oracle, make no secret
 ' of maintaining that you have long since exceeded
 ' the bounds of the Equestrian Order, and far out-
 ' gone in power all the confidents of my father;
 ' and from their hatred to you, they also censure
 ' me. But, it seems, Augustus deliberated about
 ' giving his daughter to a Roman Knight. Where
 ' is the wonder, if, perplexed with a crowd of di-
 ' stracting cares, and apprized to what an un-
 ' bounded height above others he raised whomso-
 ' ever he dignified with such a match, he talked
 ' of Proculeius, and some like him, remarkable
 ' for the retiredness of their life, and no wise en-
 ' gaged in the affairs of state? But if we are in-
 ' fluenced by the hesitation of Augustus, how
 ' much more powerful is his decision, since he be-
 ' stowed his daughter on Agrippa, and then on
 ' me? These are considerations which in friend-
 ' ship I have not with-held; however, neither
 ' your own inclinations, nor those of Livia, shall
 ' be ever thwarted by me. The secret and con-
 ' stant purposes of my own heart towards you, and
 ' with what further ties of affinity, I am contriv-

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‘ing to bind you still faster to me, I at present
 ‘forbear to recount. Thus much only I will de-
 ‘clare, that there is nothing so high, but those
 ‘abilities, and your singular zeal and fidelity to-
 ‘wards me, may justly claim, as, when oppor-
 ‘tunity presents, either in Senate, or in a popular
 ‘assembly, I shall not fail to testify.’

In answer to this, Sejanus, no longer solliciting the marriage, but filled with higher apprehensions, besought him ‘to resist the dark suggestions of
 ‘suspicion, to despise the pratings of the vulgar,
 ‘nor to admit the malignant breath of envy.’ And as he was puzzled about the crowds which incessantly haunted his house, lest by keeping them off he might impair his power, or by encouraging them, furnish a handle for criminal imputations, he came to this result, that he would urge the Emperor out of Rome, to spend his life remote from thence in delightful retirements. From this counsel he foresaw many advantages; upon himself would depend all access to the Emperor; all letters and expresses would, as the soldiers were the carriers, be in great measure under his direction; in a little time the Prince, now in declining age, and then softened by recess, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the Empire; he should be removed from the multitude of such as to make their court, attended him at Rome, and thence one source of envy would be stopt. So that by discharging the empty phantoms of power, he should augment the essentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, the throng of people, the flock of suitors; he applauded ‘retirement and quiet, where,
 ‘while they were separate from irksome fatigues,
 ‘nor exposed to the discontents and resentments of
 ‘particulars, all affairs of moment were best dis-
 ‘patched.’

Oppor-

Opportunely for Sejanus, there happened about that time the trial of Votienus Montanus, a man of celebrated wit; a trial which determined Tiberius to shun all assemblies of the fathers, and thence escape hearing the true and painful reflections which to his face were there uttered. For, as Votienus was charged with contumelious speeches against Cæsar; Æmilius the witness, a man of the sword from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehearsed every tittle he had heard, and, notwithstanding the clamour raised to stop his mouth, he persisted in the detail with notable obstinacy. By this means Tiberius heard the bitter reproaches by which he was secretly goaded, and was so stricken, that he waxed vehement, and cried, ‘ he would instantly clear himself in their presence, or before an assembly of the people;’ nor scarce could the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, calm him. Votienus suffered the pains of treason. For Tiberius having learnt that he was upbraided with cruelty towards the accused, and growing thence more obstinately cruel, punished Aquila with exile, for adultery with Varius Ligur, though she were already sentenced by Lentulus Getulicus, Consul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He also razed Apidius Merula from the list of Senators, ‘ because he had not sworn upon the Acts of the deified Augustus.’

Next were heard embassadors from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, about the right that each people claimed to the Temple of Diana Limenætis, which the Lacedæmonians asserted to be theirs, ‘ founded in their territory, and dedicated by their ancestors,’ and offered as proofs the ancient authority of their Annals, and the Hymns of the old Poets; ‘ It had been in truth taken from them by the superior force of Philip of Macedon, when at war with him, but afterwards restored by the

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‘judicial decision of Julius Cæsar and Marc Anthony.’ The Messenians, on the contrary, pleaded, ‘the ancient partition of Peloponnesus amongst the descendants of Hercules, whence the territory where the Temple stood, had fallen to their King, and the monuments of that allotment still remained, engraven in stone and old tables of brass; but, if the testimony of Histories and Poets were appealed to, they themselves had the most and the fullest. Nor had Philip, in his decision, acted by power, but from equity; the same afterwards was the adjudgment of King Antigonus, the same that of the Roman Commander Mummius. Thus too the Milesians had awarded, they who were by both sides chosen arbitrators; and thus lastly it had been determined by Attidius Geminus, Prætor of Achaia.’ The Messenians therefore gained the suit. The citizens also of Segestum applied on behalf of the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx, ‘which, having fallen through age, they desired might be restored.’ They represented the story of its Origin and Antiquity, a well pleasing flattery to Tiberius, who frankly took upon himself the charge, as kinsman to the Goddess. Then was discussed the petition from the citizens of Marseilles, and what they claimed according to the precedent of Publius Rutilius, was approved; for Rutilius, though by a law expelled from Rome, had been by those of Smyrna adopted a citizen; and as Volcatius Mofchus, another exile, had found at Marseilles the same privilege and reception, he had to their Republic, as to his country, bequeathed his estate.

There died this year those noble Romans, Cneius Lentulus and Lucius Domitius. Lentulus to his public honours, those of the consulship, and the ensigns of triumph over the Getulæans, had added that of private poverty honourably borne,
and

and afterwards the splendor of mighty wealth, virtuously acquired and modestly enjoyed. Upon Domitius devolved the lustre of his father, who in the Civil War held the dominion of the sea, till he espoused first the interest of Marc Anthony, and anon that of Augustus. His grand-father had fallen for the cause of the Patriots and Senate, in the battle of Pharsalia. He himself was chosen for the husband of the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia. He afterwards led an army over the Elb, and advanced farther into Germany than any Roman before him. These things procured him the ensigns of triumph. There also died Lucius Antonius, of a race greatly illustrious, but unhappy; for Julius Antonius his father having suffered death for adultery with Julia, Augustus removed this Lucius, then a child, and the grand-son of his sister, to the city of Marseilles, where, under the guise of his studies, the name of his exile might be hid. To his death, however, public honour was paid, and by a decree of Senate his bones were repositied in the tomb of the Octavii.

During the same Consuls, a bloody assassination was perpetrated in the nethermost Spain, by a boor in the territory of Termes. By him Lucius Piso, Governor of the Province, as he travelled careless and unattended, relying on the established peace, was dispatched at one deadly blow. The assassin, however, escaped to a forest, by the fleetness of his horse, and there dismissed him; from thence, travelling over rocks and pathless places, he baffled his pursuers; but his lurking lasted not long; for his horse being taken and shewn through the neighbouring villages, it was thence learned who was the owner; so that he too was found: but when put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaimed with a mighty and assured voice, in the language of his country, 'that in vain they que-

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tioned him; his associates might stand safely by and witness his constancy, for that no force of torture could be so exquisite as from him to extort a discovery.' Next day as he was dragged back to the rack, he burst with a vehement effort from his guard, and dashed his head so desperately against a stone, that he instantly expired. Piso is believed to have been assassinated by a plot of the Terrestinians, as, in exacting the repayment of some money, seized from the public, he acted with more asperity, than a rough people could bear.

In the Consulship of Lentulus Getulicus and Caius Calvisius, the triumphal ensigns were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for having routed some clans of Thracians, who, living wildly on the high mountains, acted thence with more daring outrage and contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, not to mention the savage genius of the people, was their scorn and impatience, to see recruits raised amongst them, and all their stoutest men listed in our armies, accustomed as they were not even to obey their native Kings further than their own humour, nor to aid them with forces but under Captains of their own chusing, nor to fight against any enemy but their own borderers. Their discontents too were inflamed by a rumour then current amongst them, that they were to be dispersed into different regions, exterminated from their own, and to be mixed with other nations. But before they began hostilities, they sent Embassadors to Sabinus, to represent 'their past friendship and submission, and that the same should continue, if they were provoked by no fresh impositions; but if, like a people subdued by war, they were doomed to bondage, they had able men and steel, and souls determined upon liberty or death.' The Embassadors, at the same

same time, pointed to their strong holds founded upon precipices, boasted that they had thither conveyed their wives and parents, and indeed threatened a war intricate, hazardous, and bloody.

Sabinus amused them with gentle answers, till he could draw together his army, while Pomponius Labeo was advancing with a Legion from Mœsia, and King Rhemetalces with a body of Thracians who had not renounced their allegiance. With these, and what forces he had of his own, he marched towards the foe, now settled in the passes of the forest; some, more bold, presented themselves upon the hills. Against the last, the Roman General first bent his forces in battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with small slaughter of the Barbarians, because of their immediate refuge. Here he streight raised an encampment, and with a stout band took possession of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortress, which was garrisoned by a great host of armed men and rabble; and as the most resolute were, in the way of the nation, rioting without the fortification in dances and songs, he forthwith dispatched against them his select archers. These, while they only poured in volleys of arrows at a distance, did thick and extensive execution; but, approaching too near, were by a sudden sally put in disorder. They were however supported by a Cohort of the Sigambrians, purposely posted by Sabinus in readiness against an exigency, a people equally terrible in the boisterous and mixed uproar of their voices and arms.

He afterwards pitched his camp nearer to the enemy, having in his former entrenchments left the Thracians, whom I have mentioned to have joined us. To them too was permitted 'to lay waste, burn, and plunder, on condition that their

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ravages were confined to the day, and that, at nights they kept within the camp, secure under guard.' This restriction was at first observed; but anon, falling into riot, as they grew opulent in plunder, they neglected their guards, and resigned themselves to gaiety and banquetting, to the intoxication and sloth of wine and sleep. The enemy therefore, apprized of their negligence, formed themselves into two bands, one to set upon the plunderers, the other to assault the Roman camp, with no hopes of taking it, but only that the foldiers, alarmed with shouts and darts, and all intent upon their own defence, might not hear the din of the other battle; moreover, to heighten the terror, it was to be done by night. Those who assailed the lines of the legions, were easily repulsed; but the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the sudden encounter, as they were utterly unprepared. Part of them lay along the entrenchments, many were roaming abroad; and both were slain with the keener vengeance, as they were upbraided 'for fugitives and traitors, who bore arms to establish servitude over their country and themselves.'

Next day Sabinus drew up his army in view of the enemy, on ground equal to both, to try, if, elated with their success by night, they would venture a battle; and, when they still kept within the fortress, or on the cluster of hills, he began to besiege them with a siege, and strengthening his old lines, and adding new, enclosed a circuit of four miles. Then, to deprive them of water and forage, he streightened his entrenchment by degrees, and hemmed them in still closer. A bulwark was also raised, whence the enemy, now within throw, were annoyed with discharges of stones, darts, and fire. But nothing aggrieved them so vehemently as thirst, whilst only a single fountain remained amongst

amongst a huge multitude of armed men and families; their horses too and cattle, penned up with the people, after the barbarous manner of the country, perished for want of provender. Amongst the carcasses of beasts lay those of men, some dead of thirst, some of their wounds, on all hands a horrible scene of putrefaction, stench, and loathsomeness. To these distresses also accrued the last and most consummate of all calamities, that of discord; some were disposed to surrender, others proposed present death, and to fall upon one another. There were some too who advised a sally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were these last mean men, though dissenting from the rest.

But one of their leaders, his name Dinis, a man stricken in years, by long experience acquainted with the power and clemency of the Romans, argued, 'that they must lay down their arms, the same being the sole cure for their pressing calamities,' and was the first who submitted, with his wife and children to the conqueror. There followed him all that were weak through sex or age, and such as had a greater passion for life than glory. The young men were parted between Tarfa and Turesis, both determined to fall with liberty, but Tarfa declared earnestly 'for instant death, since by it all hopes and fears were at once to be extinguished,' and, setting an example, buried his sword in his breast. Nor were there wanting some who dispatched themselves the same way. Turesis and his band staid for night; of which our General was aware. The guards were therefore strengthened with extraordinary reinforcements; and now with the night darkness prevailed, its horror heightened by outrageous rain; the enemy too with tumultuous shouts, and by turns with profound silence, alarmed and puzzled the besiegers. Sabinus therefore going round the camp,

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camp, warned the soldiers, ' that they should not
' be misguided by the deceitful voice of uproar,
' nor trust to a feigned calm, and thence open an
' advantage to the enemy, who by these wiles
' sought it; but keep immoveably to their several
' posts, nor throw their darts at random.'

Just then came the Barbarians, pouring in
droves; here, with stones, with wooden javelins
hardened in the fire, and with the broken limbs of
trees, they battered the palisade; there with hur-
dies, faggots, and dead bodies, they filled the
trench. By others, bridges and ladders, both be-
fore framed, were planted against the battlements,
which they violently grappled and tore, and strug-
gled hand to hand with those who opposed them.
The Romans, on the other side, beat them back
with their bucklers, drove them down with darts,
and hurled upon them great mural stakes and heaps
of stones. On both sides were powerful stimula-
tions; on ours, the hopes of victory almost gained,
if we persisted, and thence the more glaring infam-
y, if we recoiled; on theirs, the last struggle for
their life, most of them too inspired with the af-
fecting presence of their mothers and wives, and
made desperate by their dolorous wailings. The
night was an advantage to the cowardly and the
brave. Blows were dealt, the striker knew not
upon whom, and wounds received, the wounded
knew not whence: such was the utter indistin-
ction of friend and foe. Moreover, the eccho from
the cavities of the mountain represented to the
Romans the shouts of the enemy as behind them,
and created such general disorder and alarm, that
in some places they deserted their lines, as believ-
ing them already broken and entered; yet such of
the enemy as broke through were very few. All
the rest, their most resolute champions being
wounded or slain, were at the returning light driven

back to their fort ; where they were at length forced to surrender ; as did the places circumjacent of their own accord. The remainder could then be neither forced nor famished ; as they were protected by a furious winter, always sudden about Mount Hæmus.

At Rome discord shook the Prince's family ; and, to begin the series of destruction which was to end in Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra her cousin was accused, Domitius Afer the accuser. This man, just out of the Prætorship, in estimation small, but hasty to signalize himself by some notable exploit, however heinous, alledged against her the ' crimes of prostitution, of adultery with ' Furnius, of magical execrations, and poison prepared against the life of the Emperor.' Agrippina, ever vehement, and then in a flame for the peril of her kinswoman, flew to Tiberius, and by chance found him sacrificing to the Emperor his father. Having got this handle for upbraiding him, she told him, ' that it ill became the same man ' to slay victims to the deified Augustus, and to ' persecute his children ; his divine spirit was not ' transfused into dumb Statues ; the genuine images ' of Augustus were the living descendents from his ' celestial blood ; she herself was one, one sensible ' of impending danger, and now in the mournful ' state of a suppliant. In vain were foreign crimes ' pretended against Pulchra, when the only cause ' of her concerted overthrow was her affection for ' Agrippina, foolishly carried even to adoration ; ' forgetful as she was of the fate of Sosia, a condemned sufferer for the same fault.' All these bitter words drew small answer from the dark breast of Tiberius ; he rebuked her, by quoting a Greek verse, ' that she was therefore aggrieved, ' because she did not reign.' Pulchra and Furnius were condemned. Afer, having thus displayed

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played his genius, and gained a declaration from Tiberius, pronouncing him *eloquent in his own independent right*, was ranked with the most celebrated Orators. Afterwards, in prosecuting accusations, or in protecting the accused, he flourished more in the fame of eloquence than in that of uprightness. Old age, however, eminently sunk the credit and vigour of his eloquence, whilst, with parts decayed, he still retained a passion for haranguing.

Agrippina still fostering her wrath, and seized too with a bodily disorder, received the Emperor, come purposely to see her, with many tears and long silence. At last she accosted him with invidious expostulations and prayers, ‘that he would relieve her solitude, and give her a husband. She was still endowed with proper youth; to virtuous women there was no consolation but that of marriage, and Rome afforded illustrious men, who would readily assent to entertain the wife of Germanicus, and his children.’ Tiberius was not ignorant to what mighty power in the State that demand tended; but, that he might betray no tokens of resentment or fear, he left her, though instant with him, without an answer. This passage, not related by the Authors of our Annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter Agrippina, her who was the mother of the Emperor Nero, and has published her own life, with the fortunes of her family.

As to Agrippina, still grieving and void of foresight, she was yet more sensibly dismayed by an artifice of Sejanus, who employed such as under colour of friendship warned her, ‘that poison was prepared for her, and that she must shun eating at her father-in-law’s table.’ She was a stranger to all dissimulation; so that as she sat near him at table, she continued stately and unmoved; not

a word, not a look escaped her, and she touched no part of the meat. Tiberius observed her, whether accidentally, or that he was before apprized, and, to be convinced by a more powerful experiment, praising the apples that stood before him, presented some with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increased the suspicion of Agrippina, and, without ever putting them to her mouth, she delivered them to the waiters. For all this, the reserved Tiberius let not a word drop from him openly, but, turning to his mother, 'It was no wonder, he said, if he had really taken harsh measures with her who thus charged him as a poisoner.' Hence a rumour spread, 'that her doom was contrived, and that the Emperor, not daring to pursue it publicly, chose to have her dispatched in secret.'

Tiberius, as a means to divert upon other matters the popular talk, attended assiduously the deliberations of the Senate, and there heard for many days the several Embassadors from Asia, mutually contending, 'in what city should be built the Temple lately decreed.' For this honour eleven cities strove, with equal ambition, though different in power; nor did the pleas urged by all, greatly vary, namely, 'the antiquity of their original, and their distinguished zeal for the Roman people, during their several wars with Perses, Aristonicus, and other Kings.' But, the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magnesians, and those of the Hypæpis, were at once dismissed, as insufficient for the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who represented, 'that Troy was the mother of Rome,' any superior advantage, besides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnassians took some short consideration; they asserted, 'that for twelve hundred years, no earthquake had shaken their town, and that they

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‘ would fix in a solid rock the foundations of
‘ the Temple.’ The same considerations were
urged by the inhabitants of Pergamus, where al-
ready was erected a Temple to Augustus; a di-
stinction which was judged sufficient for them.
The cities too of Ephesus and Miletus seemed
fully employed in the ceremonies of their own di-
stinct Deities, the former in those of Diana, the
other in those of Apollo. Thus the dispute was
confined to Sardes and Smyrna. The first recited
a decree of the Etrurians, which owned them for
kinsmen; ‘ for that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, sons
‘ of King Atys, having between them divided
‘ their people, because of their multitude, Lydus
‘ resettled in his native country, and it became
‘ the lot of Tyrrhenus to find out a fresh residence;
‘ and by the names of these chiefs the parted peo-
‘ ple came afterwards to be called, Lydians in
‘ Asia, Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence
‘ of the Lydians spread yet farther, by their Co-
‘ lonies sent under Pelops into Greece, which
‘ from him afterwards took its name.’ They
likewise urged ‘ the letters of our Generals, their
‘ mutual leagues with us during the war of Ma-
‘ cedon, their plenty of rivers, temperate cli-
‘ mate, and the fertility of the circumjacent coun-
‘ try.’

The Smyrneans having likewise recounted their
ancient establishment, ‘ whether Tantalus, the
‘ son of Jupiter, or Theseus, the son also of a
‘ God, or one of the old Amazons, were their
‘ founder,’ proceeded to considerations in which
they chiefly trusted, their friendly offices to the
Roman people, having aided them with a naval
force, not in their foreign wars only, but in those
which infested Italy. ‘ It was they who first
‘ reared a Temple to the city of Rome, in the
‘ Consulship of Marcus Porcius, then, in truth,

‘ when the power of the Roman people was already mighty, but however not yet raised to its highest glory ; for the city of Carthage still stood, and potent Kings governed Asia. Witness too their generosity to Sylla, when the condition of his army, ready to starve in a cruel winter and a scarcity of cloaths, being related to the Citizens of Smyrna then assembled, all that were present divested themselves of their rayments, and sent them to our Legions.’ Thus when the votes of the Senators were gathered, the pretensions of Smyrna were preferred. It was also moved by Vibius Marfus, that Marcus Lepidus, to whom the province of Asia had fallen, should be attended by a Legate extraordinary to supervise the building of the Temple ; and as Lepidus himself, through modesty, declined to chuse one, several who had been Prators were drawn by lot, and the lot fell upon Valerius Naso.

In the mean time, according to a purpose long meditated, and from time to time deferred, Tiberius at last retired to Campania, in profession to dedicate a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Augustus ; but in truth determined to remove, for ever, from Rome. The cause of his departure I have before referred to the stratagems of Sejanus ; but though in it I have followed most of our authors, yet, since after the execution of Sejanus, he persisted for six years in the like dark recess, I am rather influenced by a stronger probability, that the ground of his absence is more justly to be ascribed to his own spirit, while he strove to hide in the shades of solitude, what in deeds he proclaimed, the rage of his cruelty and lust. There were those who believed that, in his old age, he was ashamed of the figure of his person ; for he was very lean, long and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and for the most besmeared with
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salves; he was moreover wont, during his recess at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and cover his debauches in secrecy. It is also related, that he was driven from Rome by the restless aspiring of his Mother, whom he scorned to admit a partner in the Sovereignty, nor yet could intirely seclude since as her gift he had received the Sovereignty itself. For, Augustus had deliberated about setting Germanicus at the head of the Roman state, his sister's grandson, and one adored by all men; but, subdued by the sollicitations of his wife, he adopted Tiberius, and caused Tiberius to adopt Germanicus. With this grandeur of her own procuring, Livia upbraided her son, and even reclaimed it.

His going was narrowly accompanied by one Senator, Cocceius Nerva, formerly Consul, and accomplished in the knowledge of the Laws, and, besides Sejanus, by one dignified Roman Knight, Curtius Atticus. The rest were men of Letters, chiefly Greeks, whose conversation pleased and amused him. The skilled in Astrology declared, 'That he had left Rome in such a conjunction of the Planets, as for ever to exclude his return.' Hence a source of destruction to many, who conjectured his end to be at hand, and published their conjectures; for, it was an event too incredible to be foreseen, that for eleven years he should of choice be withdrawn from his country. The sequel discovered the short bounds between the art and the falshood of the art, and what obscurities perplex even the facts which it happens to foretell. *That he should never return to Rome*, proved not to be falsly said; as to every thing else about him they were perfectly in the dark, since he still lived, never far distant, sometimes in the adjacent champaign, sometimes on the neighbouring shore, often

under the very walls of the city, and died at last in the fulness and extremity of age.

There happened to Tiberius, about that time, an accident, which, as it threatened his life, fed the empty Prognostics at Rome; but to himself proved matter of more confidence in the friendship and faith of Sejanus. They were eating in a Cave at a villa, thence called *Spelunca*, between the Amyclean sea and the mountains of Fundi. It was a native cave, and its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried under it some of the attendants; hence dread seized all, and they who were celebrating the entertainment, fled. As to Sejanus, he covered the Emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, exposed himself to the descending ruin. Such was the posture he was found in by the soldiers who came to their relief. He grew mightier from thence; and being now considered by Tiberius as one regardless of himself, all his counsels, however bloody and destructive, were listened to with blind credulity; so that he assumed the office of a Judge against the offspring of Germanicus, and suborned such as were to act the parts of accusers, and especially to pursue and blacken Nero, the next in succession, a young prince modest indeed, but forgetful of that restraint and circumspection which his present situation required. He was misguided by his freedman and the retainers to his house, who, eager to be masters of power, animated him with intemperate counsels, 'That he would shew a spirit resolute and assured; it was what the Roman people wished, what the armies longed for; nor would Sejanus dare then to resist, though he now equally insulted the tameness of an old man, and the sloth of a young one.'

While he listened to these and the like suggestions, there escaped him, no expressions, in truth,
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of any criminal purpose, but sometimes such as were resentful and unguarded ; these were caught up by the spies placed upon him, and charged against him with aggravations ; neither was he allowed the privilege of clearing himself. Several threatening appearances moreover dismayed him ; some avoided to meet him ; others having just paid him the salute, turned instantly away ; many, in the midst of conversation, broke off and left him, while the creatures of Sejanus stood still fearlessly by, and sneered upon him. For Tiberius ; he always entertained him with a stern face, or a hollow smile ; and whether the youth spoke or said nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his silence. Nor was he safe even in the dead of night, since his uneasiness and watchings, nay, his very sighs, and dreams were, by his wife, divulged to her mother Livia, and by Livia to Sejanus, who had also drawn his brother Drusus into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate prospect of Empire, if his elder brother, already sinking, were once set effectually aside. The genius of Drusus, naturally furious, instigated besides by a passion for power, and by the usual hate and competition between brothers, was further kindled by the partiality of Agrippina, who was fonder of Nero. However, Sejanus did not so far favour Drusus, but that against him too he was even then ripening the studied measures of future destruction, as he knew him to be violent, and thence more obnoxious to snares.

In the end of the year departed these eminent persons, Asinius Agrippa, of ancestors more illustrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of them ; and Quintus Haterius, of a Senatorian family, and himself, while he yet lived, famous for eloquence ; but the monuments of his genius, since published, are not equally esteemed.

In truth, he prevailed more by rapidity than accuracy; insomuch that, as the elaborate compositions of others flourish after them, so that enchanting melody of voice in Haterius, with that fluency of words which was personal to him, died with him.

In the Consulship of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, the casualty of an instant, its beginning unforeseen, and ended as soon as begun, equalled in calamity the slaughter and overthrow of mighty armies. One Atilius had undertaken to erect an Amphitheatre at Fidenæ, there to exhibit a combat of Gladiators; he was of the race of freedmen, and as he began it from no exuberance of wealth, nor to court popularity amongst the inhabitants, but purely for the meanness of gain, he neither established solid foundations, nor raised the timber-work with sufficient compactness. Thither thronged from Rome those of every sex and age, eager for such shews, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diversions at home; and, the nearer the place, the greater the crowds. Hence the calamity was the more dreadful; for, as the Theatre was surcharged with the multitude, the structure burst, and sinking violently in, while its extremities rushed impetuously out, huge was the press of people, who, intent upon the Gladiators within, or gathered round the walls, were crushed by the deadly ruin, and even buried under it. And verily, they who in the first fury of the havock were smitten with final death, escaped, as far as in such a doleful disaster they could escape, the misery of torture; much more to be lamented were those, who, bereft of joints and pieces of their body, were yet not forsaken of life; those who by day could with their eyes behold their wives and children imprisoned in the same ruins,
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and by night could distinguish them by their groans, and howlings.

Now others from abroad excited by the sad tidings, found here their several sorrows; one bewailed his brother, one his kinsman, another his parents: even they whose friends or kindred were absent on a different account, were yet terrified; for, as it was not hitherto distinctly known upon whom the destruction had lighted, the dread was widened by uncertainty. When the ruins began to be removed, great was the concourse of the living about the dead, frequent the kisses and embraces of tenderness and sorrow, and even frequent the contention about the propriety of the dead, where the features distorted by death or bruises, or where parity of age or resemblance of person, had confounded the slain, and led into mistakes their several claimers. Fifty thousand people were destroyed or maimed by this sad stroke; it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of Senate, 'That no man under the qualification of four hundred thousand sesterces*, should exhibit the spectacle of Gladiators, and no Amphitheatre should be founded but upon ground manifestly solid.' Atilius was punished with exile. Now during the fresh pangs of this calamity, the doors of the Grandees were thrown open, medicines were every where furnished, and by proper hands administered; and at that juncture the City, though sorrowful of aspect, seemed to have recalled the public spirit of the ancient Romans, who, after great battles, constantly relieved the wounded, sustained them by liberality, and restored them with care.

The public agonies from this terrible blow, were not yet deadened, when another supervened, and

* About ten thousand Crowns.

the City felt the affliction and violence of fire, which with uncommon rage utterly consumed Mount Cælius. 'It was a deadly and mournful year, they said, and under boding omens the Prince had formed the design of his absence.' It is the way of the multitude, who to malignant counsels are wont to ascribe events altogether fortuitous. But the Emperor dissipated their murmurs, by bestowing on each sufferer money to the value of his sufferings; hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the Senate, and was by the populace rewarded with applauses, 'for that, without the views of ambition, without the application of friends, he had, of his own accord, even sought out the unknown, and by his bounty relieved them.' It was likewise moved and decreed in Senate, 'That Mount Cælius should be for the future stiled *Mount Augustus*, since there the Statue of Tiberius, standing in the house of Junius the Senator, escaped unhurt in the flames, though devouring all round them.' It was remembered, 'that the same rare exemption had formerly happened to Claudia Quinta, that her Statue being twice spared by the fury of fire, had thence been placed and consecrated by our ancestors in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Thus sacred were the Claudian race, and dear to the Deities, and therefore the place, where the Gods had testified such mighty honour towards the Prince, ought to be dignified with consecration.'

It will not be impertinent to insert here, that this Mount was of old named *Querquetulanus*, from a grove of Oak which grew thick upon it. It was afterwards called *Mount Cælius*, from Cælius Vibenna, who, having led to Rome a body of Tuscan auxiliaries, was presented with that settlement by Tarquinius Priscus, or some other of our Kings,

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for in this particular writers differ; about other circumstances there remains no dispute, that these forces were very numerous, and extended their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the Forum. Hence the *Tuscan street*, so called after these strangers.

But as the universal zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the Prince, had administered public relief against the blind blows of fortune; so the studied fury, of the accusers, which grew daily more prevailing and deadly, rioted in destruction without controul or alleviation. Quinctilius Varus, a wealthy man and the Emperor's cousin, was assailed by Domitius Afer, the same who had procured the condemnation of Claudia Pulchra his mother; nor did any man wonder that he who had long lived needy, and already wasted the reward lately earned, should be prompt to engage in fresh iniquity and spoil. The amazement was, that Publius Dolabella appeared his associate in the accusation, because, as he was nobly descended, he shipwrecked, by such prostitution, the ancient glory of his house, and, being the kinsman of Varus, was wilfully spilling his own blood. The Senate, however, stemmed the process, and voted, 'That the Emperor's return was to be awaited;' a temporary refuge, and the only one against these pointed and urging evils.

Tiberius, having dedicated the Temples in Campania, though he had by an Edict warned the public, 'that none should interrupt his quiet,' and though soldiers were posted to keep off all confluence from the neighbouring towns; nevertheless, hating the towns themselves, and the colonies, and every part in the continent, imprisoned himself in Capreæ, an Island disjoined from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I should chiefly believe that he was
taken

taken with its solitude, as the sea about it is void of havens, as the stations for the smallest vessels are few and difficult, and as none could put in unperceived by the Guards. The genius of the climate is mild in winter, from the shelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds; its summers are refreshed by gales from the West, and the sea open all round it, makes a delightful view. From thence too was beheld a most lovely landscape, before the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius had changed the face of the prospect. It is the tradition of fame, that the Greeks occupied the opposite region, and that Capreae was particularly inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, Tiberius then confined his retirement to twelve Villas, their names famous of old and their structure sumptuous. And the more intent he had formerly been upon public cares, he became now so much the more buried in dark debauches, and resigned over to mischievous privacy, for, there remained still in him his old bent to suspicions, and rash faith in informers, qualities which even at Rome Sejanus had always fostered, and here inflamed more vigorously; his devices against Agrippina and Nero being no longer a secret. About them Guards were placed, by whom every petty circumstance, the messages they sent or received, their visits and company, their open behaviour, their private conversation, were all, as it were, minuted into journals. There were others too instructed to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany, or that, embracing the Statue of the deified Augustus in the great Forum, they would there implore the aid and protection of the Senate and people of Rome. And these counsels, though rejected by them, were fathered and charged upon them, as just ripe for execution.

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Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva being Consuls, the year began tragically, as Titius Sabinus, an illustrious Roman Knight, was hurried to prison, his crime a constant friendship for Germanicus, whose wife and children, he only of all his followers, never ceased to reverence, never ceased to frequent them at home, never to attend them in public; a constancy applauded by the good, and grievous to their persecutors. There combined against him Latinus Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opius, who having been all Prætors, were now all passionate for the Consulship, to which there was no access but by Sejanus, and the kindness of Sejanus to be purchased only by iniquity. It was settled amongst them, that Latiaris, who had a small acquaintance with Sabinus, should manage the guile, the rest be witnesses, and then all together begin the accusation. Latiaris therefore accosted him at first with occasional discourse, and then proceeded to praise his constancy, 'that he had not, like others, been only a friend to that family in its glory, and deserted it in affliction.' He at the same time spoke noble things of Germanicus, and bewailed Agrippina. This affected Sabinus; and, as the human soul is softened by calamity and sorrow, he burst into tears and complaints, and, being heated, inveighed daringly against Sejanus, his cruelty, his pride, his traiterous designs; nor, in truth, did Tiberius escape his invectives. And now, as if they had mutually trusted each other with matters secret and forbidden, this their conversation created a shew of close friendship; so that Sabinus henceforward sought out Latiaris, frequented his house, and carried to him, as to a most faithful confidant, all his griefs and discontents.

The next consultation was, how to have these complaints and invectives uttered in the hearing of
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all four; for, the place in which they met to overhear, must retain a solemn look of secrecy; and if they stood behind the door, there was danger of being spied, or their own noise might discover them, or perhaps some sudden apprehension might tempt Sabinus to inspect. They therefore chose the void over head, between the roof of the house and the covering of the room. Into this lurking-hole thrust themselves three Roman Senators, a concealment as vile, as the treachery for which they did it, was execrable, and there basely listened, with their ears laid to the chafms and crannies. Latiaris the while found out Sabinus abroad, and, as if full of some late discoveries which he meant to recount, drew him home, and into the subdoleous chamber; there he displayed the past and instant cruelties (for of both there was abundant store) with an accumulation too of fresh and impending terrors. Sabinus then took up his former detail and resentments, and even with greater prolixity, as the discharges of grief once broached, are with difficulty restrained. This was enough; the accusation was forthwith dispatched, and, in a written Memorial to Tiberius, these Senators opened the order and dexterity of the fraud, and made him a narrative of their own detestable infamy. At no time was the city ever seized with deeper anxiety and dread; one relation feared another; men were afraid to meet, afraid to discourse; silence and distrust extended to strangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided; even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, raised terror and circumspection.

The Emperor sent presently a Letter to the Senate, and, after the usual compliment and wish at the entrance of the new year, fell upon Sabinus. He charged him with 'having corrupted some of his servants, and aimed at his own life;' and,

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in words no wise obscure, required vengeance. The condemnation passed without delay, and the condemned was dragged away to instant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat girt with a robe ; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, ‘ That with these solemnities the year began, and such were the victims slain to Sejanus.’ Which ever way he cast his eyes, whither soever he directed his words, nought appeared but the effects of universal terror, even flight and solitude. All along, as he passed, the people disappeared, the streets were empty, the public places deserted. There were some who having fled, returned, and again shewed themselves ; dreading this very thing, that they had discovered dread. ‘ What day, they cried, will be free from executions ? when even in the midst of public assemblies, in the midst of vows and sacrifices, a time when custom has established a forbearance even from profane words, fetters and halts are yet exercised ? It is not at random that Tiberius has thus done an action so publicly odious ; it is a studied artifice. He would not be thought to debar the new Magistrates from their ancient privilege of opening the prisons as well as the temples. Sabinus is therefore, during the Festival, executed without imprisonment.’ There followed his Letter of thanks to the Senate, ‘ for having punished an enemy to the Commonwealth.’ He added, ‘ that he lived a life of fear and solicitude, in constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies,’ but named none. It was, however, no wise doubted that Agrippina and Nero were designed.

Were it not my purpose to refer the several incidents to their proper year, my spirit longs to postpone the immediate events, and instantly to relate

relate the just doom of Latiaris, Opfius, and the other contrivers of this perfidious wickedness, not only after Caligula came to the Empire, but even while Tiberius yet reigned, who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to be crushed by others, yet, as he generally became surfeited with their infamy, and as fresh ones daily offered for the same vile services, was himself wont to hew down the old and over odious. But, we shall in its order remember the severe fate of these and other sons of blood. Now Asinius Gallus, to whose children Agrippina was aunt, moved ' that the Prince should be desired to explain his fears, ' and suffer the Senate to remove the causes.' Tiberius was sonder of his dissimulation than of all his other virtues; for such he conceived it. He therefore took it the more heinously to find thus laid open what he anxiously smothered. But Sejanus mollified him; not from any love to Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the Prince's vengeance; for, he knew him slow in ripening his wrath, but that after the first eruption, he would be sure to link tragical executions to sad denunciations. About the same time died Julia, granddaughter to Augustus, by him condemned for adultery, and banished to the island Trimetus, not far from the coast of Apulia. She there suffered exile twenty years, sustained by relief from Augusta, who having by dark devices dispatched, in the midst of their hopes and glory, the brothers of Julia, made a public shew of compassion towards others of the family, when under the pressures of adversity.

The same year the Frisians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebelled, rather enraged by our avarice, than impatient of allegiance. The tribute laid on them by Drusus, was easy, and suited to their

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poor substance ; namely, ‘ to furnish certain hides for the uses of the soldiers.’ Nor did any one think or insist on the particular size or thickness, till Olennius, an officer sent to govern them, having procured the large hides of some wild bulls, demanded that according to that measure the tribute should be paid ; a hard task even upon any nation, and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their forests abound in beasts of mighty bulk, and their domestic cattle are very small. Yet they bore a series of oppressions, first parted with the herds themselves, next resigned their lands, last of all surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Hence much bitterness and anguish, and sad complaints. But as these brought no relaxation, grown at last desperate, they sought relief from war. At once they rushed upon the soldiers appointed over the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. Olennius by flight prevented their vengeance, and found sanctuary in a neighbouring castle, its name Fleuvum, situated on the sea coast, and garrisoned by a stout band of soldiers, Romans and Auxiliaries.

Lucius Apronius, Governor of the lower Germany, as soon as he was apprized of the insurrection, called down, from the upper province, some companies of the Legions, with the choice auxiliary foot and horse ; and, carrying his army down the Rhine, made a descent on the Frisians ; the revolted having now abandoned the siege of the castle, and marched back to cover their own country. He therefore, by bridges and causeways laid over the neighbouring fens, rendered them passable to the body of his forces ; and in the mean while, having discovered certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates and all the German foot in our pay, to surround the rear of the enemy, who,

who, being already drawn up in battle, repulsed the socii troops, and even some legionary horse, sent to support them. So that a fresh aid was ordered of three Cohorts, then two more, and, after some space, the whole cavalry of the Legions; forces sufficient, had they fallen on in a body; but as they advanced by intervals, they not only inspired no fresh courage into those who were already disordered, but were themselves carried away by the fright of such as fled. To Cethegus Labeo, therefore, Legate of the fifth Legion, he committed all the rest of the auxiliary troops. But he too, being hardly beset, and his men in danger of giving way, dispatched messages to implore the intire force of the Legions. Those of the fifth ran before the rest to his relief, and, in a sharp encounter, repulsing the foe, protected our Cohorts and Cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman General neither pursued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead, though many Tribunes, many horse officers, and many Centurions of the first rank, were slain. It was afterwards learnt from deserters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themselves in the wood called Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having possessed themselves of a seat of one Cruptorix, once our tributary, and coming to fear being delivered into the hands of the enemy, had fallen by the hands of one another.

Hence the name of the Frisians became renowned amongst the Germans, whilst Tiberius dissimulated the public loss, that he might trust no man with the conduct of the war. For the Senate, it was no part of their anxiety, what disgraces were received on the extremities of the Empire: domestic terror had possessed their souls, a distemper for which they

they fought a though they n yet they decre to Friendli Tiberius an plications im please to aff with all these nor the neig seemed conde illand, and t shore of Cam tors, the Kni all solicitous harder of acc all to be obta him in his c those that we his natural an that filthy ho crouching be of sycophants greatness of t and variety c ther they we they appeare lying, along nights, no d the same, an and insults o bid to apply condescende not to speak trembling, over them h friendship.

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they sought a cure from flattery; insomuch, that though they met upon far different deliberations, yet they decreed 'an Altar to Clemency, an Altar to Friendship, and round them the Statues of Tiberius and Sejanus;' and, with repeated supplications importuned both, 'that they would please to afford their presence to the public.' But, with all these entreaties, they neither visited Rome, nor the neighbourhood of Rome. To them it seemed condescension sufficient, just to leave the island, and suffer themselves to be seen on the shore of Campania. Thither crowded the Senators, the Knights, and great part of the people, all solicitous for admission to Sejanus, who was harder of access than the Emperor; nor was it at all to be obtained but by being confederate with him in his counsels and pursuits, or by courting those that were. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was exalted, from surveying that filthy host of slaves, spread all abroad, and crouching before him. For at Rome the throng of sycophants were not so distinctly perceived; the greatness of the City, the ordinary hurry of men, and variety of affairs, rendered it uncertain whether they went, or whence they came. But here they appeared in a body, the noble and mean, lying, along on the fields and shores, days and nights, no distinction of ranks, the business of all the same, and bore with equal patience the favour and insults of his porters, till they were finally forbid to apply even to these. So that all, whom he condescended not to see, others whom he deigned not to speak to, returned to the City struck and trembling, some exulting with deceitful joy, as over them hung the dreadful issue of his tragical friendship.

For the rest; Tiberius having here betrothed to Cneius Domitius the younger Agrippina,

his grand-daughter by Germanicus, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In Domitianus he preferred, besides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the Cæsars; for Octavia being his grand-mother, Augustus was his great uncle.

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THE
ANNALS
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BOOK V.

The SUMMARY.

The death and character of the Empress Livia. Thence fresh power to Sejanus, and tyranny of the Government. Agrippina and her son Nero openly accused to the Senate by a letter from the Emperor. The ardent zeal of the people for them. This incenses Sejanus, who thence alarms Tiberius. Part of a Speech of one condemned, with his manner of dying. More accusations. A counterfeit Drusus in the Cyclades. The diligence and address of Poppius Sabinus upon that occasion. Heats between the two Consuls.

IN the Consulship of Rubellius and Fufius, each surnamed Geminus, died Julia Augusta, in the extremity of age. She was descended from the Claudian house, adopted through her father into the Livian family, into the Julian by Augustus; and

and both by adoption and descent, signally noble. Her first marriage was with Tiberius Nero, and by him she had children. Her husband, after the surrender of Perugia, in the Civil War, became a fugitive; but, upon peace made between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumvirate, returned to Rome. Afterwards, Octavius Cæsar, smitten with her beauty, snatched her from her husband, whether with or against her own inclinations, is uncertain, but with such precipitation, that, without staying for her delivery, he married her yet big with child by Tiberius. Henceforward she had no issue; but, by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, her blood came to be mixed with that of Augustus in their great grand-children. In her domestic deportment she conformed to the venerable model of antiquity, but with more complaisance than was allowed by the Ladies of old; an easy courteous wife, an ambitious mother, well comporting with the nice arts of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son. Her funeral was moderate, and her last will lay long unfulfilled. Her encomium was pronounced in public by Caligula, her grandson, afterwards Emperor.

Tiberius by a Letter excused himself to the Senate for not having paid his last offices to his Mother; and, though he rioted in private luxury without abatement, pleaded 'the multitude of public affairs.' He likewise abridged the honours decreed to her memory, and, of a large number, admitted but very few. For this restriction he pretended modesty, and added, 'that no religious worship should be appointed to her, for that the contrary was her own choice.' Nay, in a part of the same Letter, he censured *feminine friendships*, obliquely upbraiding the Consul Fulvius, a man highly distinguished by the favour of Augusta, and dexterous to engage and cajole the affections

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affections of women, a gay talker, one accustomed to play upon Tiberius with biting sarcasms, the impressions of which never die in the hearts of Princes.

From this moment, the domination waxed completely outrageous and devouring; for while she lived, some refuge still remained, as the observance of Tiberius towards his Mother was ever inviolate; nor durst Sejanus arrogate precedence of the authority of a parent; but now, as let loose from all restraints, they broke out with unbridled fury. So that Letters were dispatched avowedly against Agrippina and Nero; and as they were read in the Senate soon after the death of Augusta, the people believed them to have been sent before, and by her suppressed. The expressions were elaborately bitter; and yet by them no hostile purpose of taking arms, no endeavour to change the State, was objected to the youth, but only 'the love of boys, and other impure pleasures.' Against Agrippina he durst not even feign so much, and therefore arraigned 'her haughty looks, her impetuous and stubborn spirit.' The Senate were struck with deep silence and affright; but as particular men will always be drawing personal favour from public miseries, there were some who, having no hopes founded upon uprightness, demanded that 'they should proceed upon the Letters.' Amongst these the foremost in zeal was Cotta Messalinus, with a terrible motion; but, the other leading men, and chiefly the Magistrates, were embarrassed by fear; for Tiberius, though he had sent them a flaming invective, left all the rest a riddle.

In the Senate was one Junius Rusticus, appointed by the Emperor to keep a Journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purposes. This man, by some fatal im-

pulse (for he had never before shewn any instance of magnanimity) or blinded by deceitful policy, while forgetful of present and impending dangers, he dreaded future possibilities, joined the party that hesitated, and even warned the Consuls, 'not to begin the debate:' he argued, 'that in a short moment the highest affairs might take a new turn, and an interval ought to be allowed to the old man to change his passion into remorse.' At the same time, the people, carrying with them the Images of Agrippina and Nero, gathered about the Senate, and proclaiming their good wishes for the prosperity of the Emperor, cried earnestly, 'that the Letters were counterfeit, and against the consent of the Prince the doom of his family was pursued.' So that nothing tragical was that day transacted. There were also dispersed amongst them several speeches, said to have been uttered in Senate by the Consulars, as their motions and advices against Sejanus; but all framed, and with the more petulance as the several authors exercised their satirical wit in the dark. Hence Sejanus boiled with greater rage, and hence had a handle for branding the Senate, 'that by them the anguish and resentments of the Prince were despised, the people were revolted; popular and disaffected harangues were publicly read and listened to; new and arbitrary acts of Senate were passed and published. What more remained, but to arm the populace, and place at their head, as leaders and Imperial Commanders, those whose Images they had already chosen for standards?'

Tiberius having therefore repeated his reproaches against his grand-son and daughter-in-law, having chastised the people by an edict, and complained to the Senate, 'that by the fraud of a single Senator the Imperial dignity should be baffled

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Book V.

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‘ and insulted, required that the whole affair should
 ‘ be left to himself, intire and untouched.’ The
 Senate hesitated no longer, but instantly proceeded,
 not now in truth to decree penalties, and capital
 vengeance ; for that was forbid them ; but to testify
 ‘ how ready they were to inflict just punishments,
 ‘ and that they were only interrupted by the power
 ‘ and pleasure of the Prince.’*****

*[Here begins a lamentable chasm in this Annal for
 almost three years ; and by it we have lost the detail
 of the most remarkable incidents in this reign, the
 exile of Agrippina into the isle of Pandataria ; of
 Nero into that of Pontia ; and the murder of both
 there, by the orders of Tiberius ; the conspiracy and
 execution of Sejanus, with that of all his friends and
 dependents ; the further wickedness of Livia, and her
 death.]*

*** Upon this subject four and forty speeches
 were made, some few upright, but cramped by
 fear ; many suited to the servile genius of the time
 *****. ‘ I judged that either upon myself it
 ‘ would bring infamy, or upon Sejanus hatred ***
 ‘ his fortune has now suffered a mighty turn ; and
 ‘ he who even chose him for his son-in-law, chose
 ‘ him for his colleague, forgives himself. For
 ‘ others, as they flattered his living pride with the
 ‘ vileness and prostitution of slaves, they now pur-
 ‘ sue him dead, with the fury of base enemies ***
 ‘ Which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly
 ‘ decide, that of accusing a friend, or of being
 ‘ accused for shewing him friendship. *** I shall
 ‘ risque no man’s cruelty, I shall court no man’s
 ‘ mercy, but, free as I am, and approved to my
 ‘ own conscience, will master danger by prevent-
 ‘ ing it. As to all you present ; I adjure you that
 ‘ you do not preserve my memory in sorrow, but
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‘ rejoice over it, and add me too to the number of
 ‘ those who by a noble end have escaped the sad
 ‘ view of public miseries.’

He then spent part of the day in conversation with those that came to see him, received one, took leave of another, talked to all indifferently, as they stood about him, with perfect calmness and presence of spirit. A throng of company yet remained, and, while they all beheld his countenance still easy and void of perturbation, and thence believed that he meant to live some longer space, he fell upon a sword which under his robe he had concealed. Nor did Tiberius, after his death, persecute his memory with any reproach, or blacken him with any crime; whereas he had loaded Blæsus with many and hideous imputations.

Next were tried Publius Vitellius, and Pomponius Secundus. The former was charged by the informers, ‘ that as he presided over the exchequer, he had offered the public treasure, and the
 ‘ whole military chest, towards compassing a revolution.’ To the other, his accuser Confidius, lately Prætor, objected ‘ the friendship of Ælius Gallus, who, after the execution of Sejanus, had fled to the gardens of Pomponius, as to a
 ‘ most faithful shelter.’ Against the impending peril there remained to neither of the accused any aid but from the magnanimity of their brothers, who frankly became their sureties. However, in some time, Vitellius, after many delays, alike distracted with the slipperiness of hope, and the agonies of fear, called for a pen-knife, under pretence of writing, and with it pricked his veins, but timorously and without effect; so that at last he died broken-hearted. Pomponius, a man of great elegance of manners, and noble wit, bore with equanimity his adverse fortune, and out-lived Tiberius.

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Now, though the rage of the populace was expiring, and though most men were mollified by former executions, it was determined to condemn the other children of Sejanus. They were therefore carried both to prison, the boy sensible of his impending doom, but the girl so ignorant, that she frequently asked, ‘ for what offence ? and whither did they drag her ? she would do so no more, and they might take the rod and whip her.’ The Writers of that time relate, ‘ that as it was a thing unheard, for a virgin to suffer capital punishment, she was deflowered by the executioner just before he tied the rope ; and that being both strangled, the tender bodies of these children were cast into the place where the carcases of malefactors are exposed, before they are flung into the Tiber.’*****

About the same time Greece and Asia were dismayed, by a rumour rather vehement than lasting, ‘ that Drusus the son of Germanicus had been seen in the Cyclades, and anon upon the Continent.’ It was indeed a youth near of the same age, accompanied by some of the Emperor’s freedmen, who, while they owned him for Drusus, meant to ensnare him. His followers were multiplied by the splendor of the name, a lure which excited such as were ignorant about him ; as the Greeks are ever passionate for all things new and wonderful.

They therefore imagined, and believing their own imaginations, they at the same time published, ‘ that he had escaped from custody, and was proceeding to the armies of his father, with them to subdue Syria or Ægypt.’ Already he was strengthened by the confluence of the young men, already courted with public honours, and elated in himself with the present success, and fostering airy hopes, when the story reached Poppæus Sabinus.

He was at that juncture engaged in Macedon, though likewise Governor of Greece. To obviate therefore the consequences of the rumour, true or false, he hastily passed the bay of 'Toronis, and that of Thermes, next Eubœa, an island of the Ægean Sea, and Piræum the port of Athens, then the coast of Corinth, and the Streights of the Isthmus; and, by another sea, he entered Nicopolis a Roman colony. There at last he learnt, that this counterfeit Drusus, being artfully questioned, had declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to sail to Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius, and further than this we have found nothing of the origin or issue of that affair.

Towards the conclusion of the year, the animosity of the Consuls, which had been long heightening, broke out into a flame; for Trio, ever forward to create himself enemies, and an exercised pleader, had obliquely censured Regulus, 'as slothful in crushing the instruments of Sejanus.' Regulus, a man moderate and inoffensive, unless provoked, not only repulsed the charge of his colleague, but arraigned him as confederate with that traitor, and even summoned him to his trial. Many Senators interposed, and besought them, that each would drop his hate, tending to the overthrow of both; but they persisted threatening and incensed to the expiration of their Magistracy.

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THE
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BOOK VI.

The SUMMARY.

The strange and libidinous revellings of the ancient Emperor in his solitary retreat at Capreæ. Many accusations; that of Marcus Terentius, and his singular defence. L. Piso, his death and fine character. The office of Governor of Rome, how it began, and by whom exercised. Debate concerning the Sybilline books, and the restrictions to be observed in admitting them. A sedition at Rome upon a dearth of bread-corn. Two daughters of Germanicus married, one to L. Cassius, another to Marcus Vinicius. Regulations against usury. Fresh accusations upon the law of Majesty. Numbers executed at once as confederates with Sejanus, and their coarces exposed. Caligula married to Claudia; his character and dissimulation. Tiberius presages the sovereignty of Galba. His dealings with the astrologers: A remarkable story of

Thraſullus. *The miſerable and violent end of Drufus the ſon of Germanicus, as alſo of Agrippina. The character and voluntary death of Nerva the great lawyer, with the end of other illuſtrious men. A Phoenix ſeen in Ægypt, with traditions concerning that miraculous bird. Freſh accuſations and deaths. Deputies from Parthia for a King. Tiberius eſtabliſhes a King there, then another. Lucius Vitellius ſent to ſettle the Eaſt; his various character. Wars between the Parthians and Armenians. Artabanus expelled from his kingdom, ſeeks refuge in Scythia. Tiridates ſettled in his room by the conduct and army of Vitellius. More illuſtrious Romans accuſed, with their condemnation and ends. The Clitæans, a people of Cappadocia, their revolt and defeat. Tiridates dethroned, and Artabanus recalled. A terrible conflagration at Rome: The liberality of Tiberius at that conjuncture. He deliberates with himſelf about a ſucceſſor. His ſickneſs, death and character.*

CNeius Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus had begun their Conſulſhip, when the Emperor, having croſſed the channel between Capræ and Surrentum, ſailed along the ſhore of Campania, unreſolved whether he ſhould proceed to Rome, or counterfeiting a ſhew of coming, becauſe he had determined not to come. He often approached to the neighbourhood of the City, even viſited the Gardens upon the Tiber; but at laſt reſumed his old retirement, the gloomy rocks and ſolitude of the ſea, aſhamed of his cruelties, and abominable luſts, in which he rioted ſo outrageouſly, that, after the faſhion of Royal Tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution; nor in them was he ſtruck with a lovely face only, or the graces of their perſons; but in ſome their boyiſh and bluſhing innocence,

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in others their nobility and the glory of their ancestors, became the provocatives of his unnatural passion. Then likewise were devised the filthy names, till then unknown, of the *Sellarii* and *Spintrix*, expressing the odious lewdness of the place, and the manifold methods of prostitution practised in it. He moreover entertained professed procurers, to look out and carry off the willing by the allurements of presents, the backward by terror and threats; and when their parents or kindred withheld their children, they had recourse to force, seizure, treated them like captives, and with all licentious rage.

At Rome, in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of Livia had been but just discovered, and not even long since punished, furious orders were passed even against her Statues and memory, as also, 'That the effects of Sejanus should be taken from the public treasury, and placed in that of the Emperor:' as if such translation availed the state. Yet such was the motion of the Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii, who urged it, each almost in the same words, but all with mighty zeal and earnestness; when, on a sudden, Togonius Gallus, while he would be thrusting his own meanness amongst names so greatly illustrious, became the object of derision; for he besought the Prince 'to chuse a body of Senators, of whom twenty, drawn by lot and under arms, should wait upon him, and defend his person, as often as he entered the Senate.' He had weakly credited a Letter from the Emperor, requiring 'the guard and protection of one of the Consuls, that he might return in safety from Capreae to Rome.' Tiberius, however, returned thanks to the Senate for such an instance of affection; but, as he was wont to mix pleasantry with things serious, he asked, 'How was it to be executed? What Se-

‘nators were to be chosen? Who to be admitted?
 ‘Whether always the same, or a continued suc-
 ‘cession? Whether young Senators, or such as
 ‘had borne dignities? Whether those who were
 ‘Magistrates, or those exercising no Magistracy?
 ‘Moreover, what a becoming figure they would
 ‘make, grave Senators, men of the gown, under
 ‘arms at the entrance of the Senate! In truth,
 ‘he held not his life of such importance, to have
 ‘it thus protected by arms.’ So much in answer
 to Togonius, without asperity of words; nor did
 he, farther than this, press them to cancel the
 motion.

But Junius Gallio escaped not thus. He had
 proposed, ‘That the Prætorian soldiers, having
 ‘accomplished their term of service, should thence
 ‘acquire the privilege of sitting in the fourteen
 ‘rows of the Theatre allotted to the Roman
 ‘Knights.’ Upon him Tiberius fell with violent
 wrath, and, as if present, demanded, ‘What bu-
 ‘siness had he with the soldiers? men whose duty
 ‘bound them to observe only the orders of the
 ‘Emperor, and from the Emperor alone to re-
 ‘ceive their rewards. Gallio had, forsooth, dis-
 ‘covered a recompence which had escaped the sa-
 ‘gacity of the deified Augustus! Or, was it not
 ‘rather a project started by a mercenary of Seja-
 ‘nus, to raise sedition and discord, to debauch
 ‘the rude minds of the soldiers with the shew and
 ‘bait of new honour, to corrupt their discipline,
 ‘and set them loose from military restrictions?’
 This reward had the studied flattery of Gallio, who
 was instantly expelled the Senate, and then Italy:
 Nay, it became a charge upon him, that his exile
 would be too easy, having for the place of it chosen
 Lesbos, an Island noble and delightful; he was
 therefore haled back to Rome, and confined in the
 house of a Magistrate. Tiberius, in the same

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Letter, demanded the doom of Sextus Paconianus, formerly Prætor, to the extreme joy of the Senate, as he was a man bold and mischievous, one armed with snares, and continually diving into the purposes and secret transactions of all men, and one chosen by Sejanus, for plotting the overthrow of Caligula. When this was now laid open, the general hate and animosities long since conceived against him, broke violently out, and had he not offered to make a discovery, he had been instantly condemned to death.

As the person he arraigned, proved to be Latinius Latiaris, the accuser and the accused, two men equally detested, administered a most grateful scene. Latiaris, as I have recounted, had been the chief in betraying Titius Sabinus, and was now the first that suffered. During these transactions, Haterius Agrippa encountered the Consuls of the preceding year; ‘How came they to be silent now, they who had impeached each other of treason then? In truth, common dread, and consciences equally guilty, ought to be reckoned the bonds and articles of their present cessation. But the fathers must not pass unobserved what from themselves they had heard.’ It was answered by Regulus, ‘That there still remained time to procure punishment, and he would do it effectually when the Prince should be present.’ Trio pleaded ‘the usual emulation between colleagues, and that what they two had uttered in the heat of dissention, were better blotted out of remembrance.’ Agrippa still persisting, Sanguinius Maximus, one of the Consulars, besought the Senate, ‘That they would not thus heighten the anxieties of the Emperor, by wantonly hunting after matter of fresh asperity; and that, where remedies were wanting, he alone was abundantly sufficient to apply them.’ Thus was

safety procured to Regulus, and to Trio a delay of his doom. For Haterius; he became the more detested, since, emaciated with debauches and lubricity, and protected by his voluptuous sloth against all peril from the Prince's cruelty, he meditated, in the midst of cups and harlots, the destruction of illustrious men.

The next impeached was Cotta Messalinus, the author of every the most bloody counsel, and thence long and intensely hated. The first opportunity was therefore snatched to fall upon him with a combination of crimes, as that he had called Caius Caligula by the feminine name of *Caia Caligula*, and branded him with constuprations of both kinds; that when he celebrated among the priests the birthday of Augusta, he had stiled the entertainment a *funeral supper*; and that complaining of the great sway of Marcus Lepidus, and of Lucius Arruntius, with whom he had a suit about money, he had added, 'They, indeed, will be supported by the Senate, but I by my little Tiberius.' Of all this he stood exposed to conviction by men of the first rank in Rome, who being earnest to attack him, he appealed to Cæsar, from whom soon after a Letter was brought in behalf of Cotta; in it he recounted 'the beginning of their friendship,' repeated 'his many good services to himself,' and desired 'that words perversely construed, and humorous tales told at an entertainment, might not be wrested into crimes.'

Most remarkable was the beginning of that Letter; for in these words he introduced it; 'What to write you, Conscript Fathers, or in what manner to write, or what at all not to write at this instant, if I can determine, may all the Deities, Gods and Goddesses, doom me still to more cruel agonies than those under which I feel myself perishing daily.' So closely did the bloody

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horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this man of blood, and became his torturers ! Nor was it at random what the wisest of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of Tyrants were displayed, they would be seen full of deadly wounds and gornings, since what the severity of stripes is to the body, the same to the soul is the bitter anguish of cruelty, lust, and execrable pursuits. To Tiberius not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inaccessible solitudes, could ensure tranquillity, nor exempt him from feeling, and even avowing, the rack in his breast, and the avenging furies that pursued him.

After this it was left to the discretion of the Senate to proceed as they listed against Cæcilianus the Senator, ' who had produced against Cotta a charge of many heavy articles ;' and it was resolved, ' to subject him to the same penalties inflicted upon Aruseius and Sanquinus, the accusers of Lucius Arruntius.' A more signal instance of honour than this had never befallen Cotta, who, noble in truth, but through luxury indigent, and, for the baseness of his crimes, detestable, was, by the dignity of this amends, equalled in character to the most venerable reputation and virtues of Arruntius. Thereafter were arraigned Quintus Servæus, and Minutius Thermus ; Servæus formerly Prætor, and once the follower of Germanicus ; Minutius, of the Equestrian rank, and though distinguished, yet never elated, with the friendship of Sejanus : hence the greater commiseration upon both. Tiberius, on the contrary, charged them ' as the leaders and principals in treason,' and directed Caius Cestius the elder ' to declare to the Senate what he had written to him.' Thus Sestius undertook the accusation. This was the most pestilent calamity of those times, when the illustrious chiefs of the Senate degraded themselves to the vile office of the meanest informers,

formers, some in the face of the sun, many in the treacherous ways of secrecy, and both without regard to the ties of blood or friendship; no distinction of kinsmen from strangers, none of the familiar from the unacquainted; no means left to discover, whether for recent imputations, or for facts covered in a course of years with oblivion. For words spoken in the Forum, spoken at entertainments, upon what subject soever spoken, the speakers were accused; every one striving to get the start of another, and to arraign his man; some for their own protection, but most, as it were, smitten with the disease of informing, and captivated with a common contagion. Minutius and Servæus were condemned, but to save themselves became evidence; and thus there were drawn into the same mishap Julius Africanus, and Seius Quadratus, the former from Saintes a City of Gaul; from whence was the other I have not discovered. Neither am I unaware that by most Writers the doom and sufferings of many of the accused, are wholly omitted; either that they were weary of the excessive multiplicity, or apprehensive that the tedious recital, which to themselves proved surfeiting and melancholy, would with equal irksomeness affect their readers. But to me, many peculiar passages have occurred deserving to be known, however not published by others.

For, at a juncture when all men else affected to renounce the character of friends to Sejanus, a Roman Knight, his name Marcus Terentius, and then upon his trial on this very account, dared to avow it before the Senate in a speech on this wise:

‘ In my present circumstances, to deny the charge
 ‘ were, perhaps, more expedient than to acknow-
 ‘ ledge it; but, whatever be the result, I will
 ‘ own, that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I
 ‘ even sought to be his friend, and gloried when I

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‘ had gained his friendship. I saw him colleague
‘ with his father Strabo in the command of the
‘ Prætorian Cohorts, and next governing the state
‘ and the soldiery at once as a Minister and a Ge-
‘ neral. His kinsmen and friends were covered
‘ with public honours, and prevalent with the
‘ Prince was every man’s credit in proportion to
‘ his intimacy with Sejanus. Those, on the con-
‘ trary, under his displeasure, were the despairing
‘ objects of persecution and wretchedness. Names
‘ and instances I bring none ; but with myself I
‘ will vindicate, and at my own single peril, all
‘ those friends of his, who, like myself, were
‘ guiltless of his last designs. Sejanus the Vul-
‘ linian was not the man whom we courted ; no ;
‘ for the object of our adorations we chose Sejanus
‘ a part of the Claudian, a part of the Julian
‘ house, into which, by alliance, he was ingraft-
‘ ed ; Sejanus thy son-in-law, O Cæsar, thy col-
‘ league in the Consulship, and that Sejanus who,
‘ under thee, administered the Empire. To us it
‘ belongs not to judge who is he whom above all
‘ others thou dost exalt, nor for what causes thou
‘ hast exalted him. Upon thee the Gods have de-
‘ volved the supreme disposal of things, and to us
‘ remains the glory of obedience. Facts and
‘ things obvious we all behold ; we perceive who
‘ it is upon whom thou dost accumulate wealth
‘ and honours, who they are that hold and distri-
‘ bute the supreme terrors and blessings of power ;
‘ and that all these were the characteristics of Se-
‘ janus, no man will deny. But to pry into the
‘ profound thoughts of the Prince, and the coun-
‘ sels which he industriously hides, is forbidden and
‘ hazardous, nor even with hazard can it be ef-
‘ fected. Recall not to mind, Conscript Fathers,
‘ the last day of Sejanus ; remember him for the
‘ space of sixteen years, a time when we adored
‘ even

' even such of his retainers as Satrius and Pompo-
 ' nius ; and to be then acquainted with his porters
 ' and franchized slaves, was esteemed a grand ho-
 ' nour. What therefore is the result ? Is this de-
 ' fence universal, and does it serve indifferently all
 ' the friends of Sejanus ? Far from it ; let just li-
 ' mits bound it. Let the conspiracy against the
 ' State, let the bloody designs upon the Prince,
 ' be punished. As to the offices of friendship, as
 ' to the instances of benevolence towards Sejanus,
 ' the same measure of justice will acquit thee,
 ' Cæsar, and us.'

The magnanimity of the speech, added to the
 joy, that one was at last found, who reasoned
 aloud as in their hearts: they did all, produced such
 powerful effect, that his accusers were for this, and
 other delinquencies, sentenced to banishment or
 death. Thereafter followed Letters from Tibe-
 rius against Sextus Vestilius, formerly Prætor ; one
 whom he had long since, as a man exceeding dear
 to his brother Drusus, adopted into the class of
 his friends. The displeasure conceived against him
 arose from his either having composed an in-
 vective against the impurities of Caligula, or from
 his having been calumniated to have done it,
 which being believed, he was forbid the Prince's
 table, and thence purposed to die. Having with
 an aged hand tried the steel, and feebly pierced his
 veins, he bound them up, and, by a Memorial,
 besought Tiberius ; but receiving a merciless an-
 swer, opened them again for ever. Next were
 charged with treason, all in a band, Annius Pollio,
 Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, Calvisius Sa-
 binus, and Vinicianus added to his father Pollio ;
 a band of illustrious men, all noble in descent,
 some distinguished with the first dignities. Horror
 seized the Fathers ; for what Senator was exempt
 from friendship or alliance with so many men of
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such signal quality? But one of the evidence, his name Celsus, Tribune of a City-Cohort, acquitted Appius and Calvifius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was, by the Emperor postponed, till he could himself attend it in Senate. Upon Scaurus, however, he bestowed some tragical and boding notes of vengeance.

Nor could even women escape the rage of accusations. With designs to usurp the government, they could not be charged; their tears are therefore made treason, and Vitia, mother to Fusius Geminus, once Consul, was sentenced to execution in her old age, for bewailing the blood of her son. These were the proceedings in Senate; nor was the Emperor employed elsewhere in different strains of cruelty. By him Vescularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, were doomed to death, two of his oldest friends, men who had followed him to Rhodes, and never forsook him at Capreae. Vescularius was his secret inter-agent in the plot against Libo; and by the co-operation of Marinus had Sejanus effected the ruin of Curtius Atticus. Hence the more joy followed their fall, to see them overtaken by precedents of their own traitorous contriving. About the same time died Lucius Piso, the Pontiff; and, by a felicity, then rare in so much splendour and elevation, died by the course of nature. The author he never himself was of any servile motion, and ever wise in moderating such motions from others where necessity enforced his assent. That his father had sustained the sublime office of Censor, I have before remembered. He himself lived to fourscore years, and, for his warlike feats in Thrace, had obtained the glory of Triumph. But from hence arose his most distinguished glory, that being created Governor of Rome, a jurisdiction newly instituted, and the
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more difficult, as not yet settled into public reverence, he tempered it wonderfully, and possessed it long.

For, of old, to supply the absence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Consuls, that the City might not remain without a ruler, a temporary Magistrate was appointed to administer justice, and watch over exigencies; and it is said that by Romulus was deputed Denter Romulus, Numa Marcius by Tullus Hostilius, and by Tarquin the Proud Spurius Lucretius. The same delegation was made by the Consuls; and there remains still a shadow of the old institution, when, during the Latin Festival, one is authorized to discharge the Consular function. Moreover, Augustus, during the Civil Wars, committed to Cilnius Mæcenas, of the Equestrian Order, the Government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when sole master of the Empire, and moved by the immense multitude of people, and the slowness of relief from the Laws, he chose a Consular to bridle the licentiousness of the slaves, and to awe such turbulent citizens as are only quiet from the dread of chastisement. Messala Corvinus was the first invested with this authority, and in a few days dismissed, as a man insufficient to discharge it. It was then filled by Taurus Statilius, who, though very ancient, sustained it with signal honour. After him Piso held it for twenty years, with a credit so high and uninterrupted, that he was distinguished with a public funeral, by decree of Senate.

A motion was thereafter made in Senate by Quinctilianus, Tribune of the people, concerning a Book of the Sybil, which Caninius Gallus, one of the College of fifteen, had prayed 'might be received by a decree amongst the rest of that Prophets.' The Decree passed without opposition,

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sition, but was followed by Letters from Tiberius. In them, having gently chid the Tribune, ‘as young, and therefore unskilled in the ancient usages,’ he upbraided Gallus, ‘that he, who was so long practised in the science of sacred ceremonies, should, without taking the opinion of his own College, without the usual reading and deliberation with the other Priests, deal, by surprise, with a thin Senate, to admit a prophetic Book of an uncertain author.’ He also advertised them ‘of the conduct of Augustus, who, to suppress the multitude of fictitious predictions every-where published under the solemn name of the Sybil, had ordained, that within a precise day, they should be carried to the City-Prætor, and made it unlawful to keep them in private hands.’ The same had likewise been decreed by our ancestors, when, after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War, the Rhymes of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were every-where sought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily, and all the Roman Colonies, with injunctions to the Priests, that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would separate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occasion also, the Book was subjected to the inspection of the Quindecemvirate.

Under the same Consuls, the dearth of corn had nigh raised a sedition. The populace for many days urged their wants and demands in the public Theatre, with a licentiousness towards the Emperor higher than usual. He was alarmed with this bold spirit, and censured the Magistrates and Senate, ‘that they had not by the public authority quelled the people.’ He recounted ‘the continued supplies of grain which he had caused to be imported, from what provinces, and in how much greater abundance than those procured by Augustus.’

‘Augustus.’ So that for correcting the populace, a decree passed, framed in the strain of ancient severity; nor less vigorous was the edict published by the Consuls. His own silence, which he hoped would be taken by the people as an instance of moderation, was by them imputed to his pride.

In the end of the year Geminius, Pompeius, and Celsus, all Roman Knights, were for a conspiracy sentenced to the pains of treason. Of these, Geminius had by prodigal expence, and voluptuous living, gained the friendship of Sejanus, but never any participation in his counsels. Julius Celsus the Tribune, as he lay in fetters, stretched his chain over his head, and, by vehement straining against it, broke his neck. But over Rubrius Fabatus a guard was set, as to him it was objected, that, despairing of the Roman State, he meant to fly for refuge to the Parthians. He was, in truth, apprehended in the Streights of Sicily, and when by a Centurion haled back to Rome, he assigned no satisfactory motives for so long a voyage. He remained however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

In the Consulship of Servius Galba and Lucius Sylla, Tiberius disposed of his grand-daughters. He had long deliberated upon whom to bestow them; and now the young Ladies were of age, he chose for their husbands, Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. The last was originally from Cagli a Roman colony in Campania, and of an Equestrian family; but his father and grand-father had been Consuls; himself of a gentle temper and polite eloquence. Cassius sprung from a Plebeian stock, but ancient and honourable, was brought up under the strict tuition of his father, and more admired for the easiness than vigour of his spirit. To him the Emperor married Drusilla, and to Vinicius Julia, both daughters of Germanicus, and

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and upon this subject wrote to the Senate, with a brief commendation of the young men. Then accounting for his absence by causes extremely foreign, he proceeded to considerations more weighty, what animosities and hate upon himself he had drawn by his zeal for the Republic; and desired, 'that Macro, Captain of his Guards, with some few Tribunes and Centurions, might always accompany him into the Senate.' To this purpose an ordinance passed, copious, and without limitation as to number or condition. Yet so far was Tiberius from coming near the public deliberations there, that he never entered the walls of Rome; even in the feint approaches which he made, he chose chiefly crooked and solitary ways, hesitating, guilty, and flying his country.

In the mean while, the whole band of accusers broke loose upon those who augmented their wealth by Usury, in contradiction to a Law of Cæsar the Dictator, 'for ascertaining the terms of lending money, and holding mortgages in Italy;' a Law become long since obsolete, through the selfish passions of men, sacrificing public good to private gain. Usury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the eternal cause of civil discord and seditions, and therefore restrained, even in ancient times, while the public manners were not yet greatly corrupted. For, first it was ordained by a Law of the twelve Tables, 'that no man should take higher Interest than twelve in the hundred;' when before it was exacted at the pleasure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the Tribunes it was reduced to six, and at last was quite abolished. By the people too repeated Statutes were made, for obviating all elusions, which, by whatever frequent expedients repressed, were yet thro' wonderful devices still springing up afresh. Gracchus the Prætor was therefore now appointed to
2 inquire

inquire into the complaints and allegations of the accusers ; but, appalled with the multitude of those threatened by the accusation, he had recourse to the Senate. The Fathers also were dismayed, (for of this fault not a soul was guiltless) and fought and obtained impunity from the Prince ; and a year and six months were granted for balancing all accounts between debtors and creditors, agreeably to the direction of the Law.

Hence a great scarcity of money ; for, besides that all debts were at once called in, so many delinquents were condemned, that by the sale of their effects, the current coin was swallowed up in the public treasury, or in that of the Emperor. Against this stagnation, the Senate had provided, ‘ that two thirds of the debts should by every creditor be laid out upon lands in Italy.’ But the creditors warned in the whole ; nor could the debtors without breach of faith divide the payment. So that at first, meetings and intreaties were tried ; and at last it was contested before the Prætor. And the project applied as a remedy ; namely, that the debtor should sell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation : for the usurers hoarded up all their treasure for purchasing of lands, and the plenty of estates to be sold miserably sinking the price, the more men were indebted, the more difficult they found it to sell. Many were utterly stripped of their fortunes ; and the ruin of their private patrimony drew headlong with it that of their reputation, and all public preferment. The destruction was going on, when the Emperor administered relief, by lending a hundred thousand great sesterces * for three years, without interest, provided each borrower pawned to the people double the value in inheritance. Thus was credit

* About two Millions, and five hundred thousand Crowns.

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restored, and by degrees private lenders too were found ; so that the order of Senate injoining the purchase of lands, was no longer observed ; like most other reformatations, keen in the beginning, and slighted at last.

Rome was next re-visited with her former terrors, and Confidius Proculus suddenly questioned for treason. While he celebrated the birth-day, void of every apprehension, he was hurried to the Senate, and underwent, in the same instant, the sentence and the pains of death. Sancia too, his sister, was interdicted fire and water, at the accusation of Quintus Pomponius, a man of turbulent temper, who pretended, ‘ that he followed these and the like practices, to ingratiate himself with Tiberius, and thence to obviate the fate which threatened his brother Pomponius Secundus.’ Pompeia Macrina was also sentenced to exile ; she whose husband Argolicus and his father Laco, two of the prime nobility of Greece, had already fallen by the cruelty of Tiberius. Her father, an illustrious Roman Knight, and her brother formerly Prætor, when they saw their own hastening doom, slew themselves. The crime imputed to them was, ‘ that their great grand-father, Theophanes of Mytelene, had been one of the confidants of Pompey the Great, and that to Theophanes, when dead, the flattering Greeks had paid divine honours.’

These were followed by Sextus Marius, the most wealthy man of Spain. He was accused of incest with his daughter, and thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock ; but, as an indisputable proof that his abundant riches procured his bane, his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public, were by Tiberius appropriated to himself. His cruelty, at last, being but inflamed by incessant executions and blood, all those kept in prison under

der accusation of any attachment to Sejanus, were by his command put to the slaughter. Exposed to the sun lay the sad monuments of the mighty butchery, those of every sex and age, the illustrious and the mean; their carcasses ignominiously thrown, apart or on heaps; neither was it permitted to their surviving friends or kindred, to approach them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. But, round the dead, Guards were placed, who watched faces, and marked the signs of sorrow; and, as the bodies putrified, saw them dragged to the Tyber, where they floated in the stream, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourses of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every symptom of commiseration was banished.

About the same time, Claudia, daughter to Marcus Silanus, was given in marriage to Caligula, who had accompanied his grand-father to Capreæ, having always hid under a subdolous guise of modesty, his savage and inhuman spirit; even upon the condemnation of his mother, even for the exile of his brothers, not a word escaped him, not a sigh, nor groan. He was so blindly observant of Tiberius, that he studied the bent of his temper, and seemed to possess it, practised his looks, imitated the change and fashion of his dress, and affected his words and manner of expression. Hence the observation of Passienus, the Orator, grew afterwards famous, ‘that there never lived a better slave, nor a worse master.’ Neither would I omit the presage of Tiberius concerning Galba, then Consul. Having sent for him, and sifted him upon several subjects, he at last told him, in Greek, ‘and thou, Galba, shalt hereafter taste of Empire;’ signifying his late and short sovereignty.

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reignty. This he uttered from his skill in Astrology, which at Rhodes he had leisure to learn, and had Thrasullus for his teacher, whose capacity he proved by this following trial.

As often as he consulted this way concerning any affair, he retired to the roof of the house, attended by one freedman trusted with the secret. This man, strong of body, but destitute of letters, guided along the Astrologer, whose Art Tiberius meant to try, over solitary precipices (for upon a rock the house stood) and, as he returned, if any suspicion arose that his predictions were vain, or that the author designed fraud, cast him head-long into the sea, to prevent his making discoveries. Thrasullus being therefore led over the same rocks, and minutely consulted, his answers were full, and struck Tiberius, as approaching Empire and many future revolutions were specifically foretold him. The artist was then questioned, 'whether he had calculated his own nativity, and thence presaged what was to befall him that same year, nay, that very day?' Thrasullus surveying the positions of the stars, and calculating their aspects, began at first to hesitate, then to quake, and the more he meditated, being more and more dismayed with wonder and dread, he at last cried out, 'that over him just then hung a boding danger and well-nigh fatal.' Forthwith Tiberius embraced him, congratulated 'him upon his foresight of perils, and his security from them;' and esteeming his predictions as so many oracles, held him thenceforward in the rank of his most intimate friends.

For myself, while I listen to these and the like relations, my judgment wavers, whether things human are in their course and rotation determined by Fate and immutable necessity, or left to roll at random. For upon this subject the wisest of the ancients and those addicted to their Sects, are of

opposite sentiments. Many are of opinion, ' that
 ' to the Gods neither the generation of us men,
 ' nor our death, and, in truth, neither men nor
 ' the actions of men, are of any importance or
 ' concernment; and thence such numberless cala-
 ' mities afflict the upright, while pleasure and
 ' prosperity surround the wicked.' Others hold
 the contrary position, and believe ' a Fate to pre-
 ' side over events; a Fate however not resulting
 ' from wandering stars, but coeval with the first
 ' principles of things, and operating by the conti-
 ' nued connection of natural causes. Yet their
 ' Philosophy leaves our course of life in our own
 ' free option; but that, after the choice is made,
 ' the chain of consequences is inevitable: neither
 ' is that good or evil which passes for such in the
 ' estimation of the vulgar; many who seem
 ' wounded with adversity are yet happy, numbers
 ' that wallow in wealth, are yet most wretched:
 ' since the first often bear with magnanimity the
 ' blows of fortune, and the latter abuse her bounty
 ' in baneful pursuits.' For the rest, it is common
 to multitudes of men, ' to have each their whole
 ' future fortunes determined from the moment of
 ' their birth; or if some events thwart the predic-
 ' tion, it is through the mistakes of such as pro-
 ' nounce at random, and thence debase the credit
 ' of an art, which, both in ages past and our own,
 ' hath given signal instances of its certainty.' For,
 to avoid lengthening this digression, I shall remem-
 ber in its order, how by the son of this same Thra-
 fullus the Empire was predicted to Nero.

During the same Consulship was divulged the
 death of Asinius Gallus: that he perished through
 famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own
 accord, or by constraint, was held uncertain. The
 pleasure of the Emperor being consulted, ' whe-
 ' ther he would suffer him to be buried,' he was

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not ashamed to grant such a piece of mock mercy, nor even to blame the anticipations of casualty, which had withdrawn the criminal, before he was publicly convicted; as if during three intermediate years between his accusation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of an ancient Consular, and the father of so many Consulars. Next perished Drusus, condemned by his grand-father to be starved; but by gnawing the weeds upon which he lay, he by that miserable nourishment protracted life the space of nine days. Some Authors relate, that, in case Sejanus had resisted and taken arms, Macro had instructions to draw the young man out of confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and set him at the head of the people. Afterwards, because a report ran, 'that the Emperor was about to be reconciled to his daughter-in-law and grand-son,' he chose rather to gratify himself by cruelty, than the public by relenting.

Tiberius, not satiated with the death of Drusus, even after death pursued him with cruel invectives, and, in a Letter to the Senate, charged him with 'a body foul with prostitution, with a spirit breathing destruction to his own family, and rage against the Republic;' and ordered to be recited 'the Minutes of his words and actions, which had been long and daily registered.' A proceeding more black with horror could not be devised! That for so many years there should be those expressly appointed who were to note down his looks, his groans, his secret and extorted murmurs; that his grand-father should delight to hear the treacherous detail, to read it, and to the public expose it, would appear a series of fraud, meanness and amazement, beyond all measure of faith, were it not for the Letters of Actius the Centurion, and Didymus the freedman; who in them declare, particularly, the names of the slaves set purposely to abuse and pro-

voke Drusus, with the several parts they acted; how one struck him going out of his chamber, and how another filled him with terrors and dismay. The Centurion too repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to Drusus, full of outrage and barbarity, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of famine; that, at first, feigning disorder of spirit, he vented, in the stile of a madman, dismal denunciations against Tiberius; but, after all hopes of life had forsaken him, then, in steady and deliberate imprecations, he invoked the direful vengeance of the Gods, ‘that, as he
 ‘had slaughtered his son’s wife, slaughtered the
 ‘son of his brother, and his son’s sons, and with
 ‘slaughters had filled his whole house; so they
 ‘would, in justice to the ancestors of the slain, in
 ‘justice to their posterity, doom him to the dreadful penalties of so many murders.’ The Senators, in truth, upon this, raised a mighty din, under colour of detesting these imprecations; but it was dread which possessed them, and amazement, that he who had been once so dark in the practice of wickedness, and so subtle in the concealment of his bloody spirit, was arrived at such an utter insensibility of shame, that he could thus remove, as it were, the covert of the walls, and represent his own grandson under the ignominious chastisement of a Centurion, torn by the barbarous stripes of slaves, and imploring in vain the last sustenance of life.

Before the impressions of this grief were worn away, the death of Agrippina was published. I suppose she had lived thus long upon the hopes which from the execution of Sejanus she had conceived; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, death grew her choice: Unless perhaps she were bereaved of nourishment, and her decease feigned to have been of her own seeking. For, Tiberius raged against her with abominable imputations,

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tations, reproaching her ' with lewdness, as the
' adulterers of Asinius Gallus, and that upon his
' death she became weary of his life.' But these
were none of her crimes. Agrippina, impatient
of an equal lot, and eager for rule, had thence sa-
crificed to masculine ambition all the passions and
vices of women. The Emperor added, ' that she
' departed the same day on which Sejanus had suf-
' fered as a traitor two years before, and that the
' same ought to be perpetuated by a public memo-
' rial.' Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in
' that she had not been strangled, and her body
' cast into the charnel of malefactors.' For this,
as for an instance of mercy, the Senate solemnly
thanked him, and decreed, ' that on the seven-
' teenth of October, the day of both their deaths,
' a yearly offering should be consecrated to Ju-
' piter for ever.'

Not long after, Cocceius Nerva, in full pro-
perity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, formed
a purpose of dying. As he was the incessant com-
panion of the Prince, and accomplished in the
knowledge of all Laws, divine and human, Ti-
berius having learned his design, was earnest to
dissuade him, examined his motives, joined en-
treaties, and even declared, ' how grievous to his
' own spirit it would prove, how grievous to his
' reputation, if the nearest of his friends should
' relinquish life, without any cause for dying.'
Nerva rejected his reasoning, and completed his
purpose by abstinence. It was alledged by such
as knew his thoughts, that the more he saw into
the dreadful source and increase of public mis-
eries, the more, transported with indignation and
fear, he resolved to make an honest end, in the
bloom of his integrity, before his life and credit
were assaulted. Moreover, the fall of Agrippina,
by a reverse hardly credible, procured that of Plan-

cina. She was formerly married to Cneius Piso; and, though she exulted publicly for the death of Germanicus, yet, when Piso fell, she was protected by the solicitations of Augusta, nor less by the known animosity of Agrippina. But, as favour and hate were now withdrawn, justice prevailed; and, being questioned for crimes long since sufficiently manifest, she executed, with her own hand, that vengeance which was rather too slow than too severe.

While the City yet bewailed so many tragical deaths, it was an accession to the public affliction, that Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and lately the wife of Nero, was espoused to Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was remembered by many to have been only a Roman Knight from Tibur. At the issue of the year, happened the death of Ailius Lamia, and was celebrated with a public funeral. For his last employment, he was Governor of Rome; having been at length discharged from the mock administration of Syria, which he was never suffered to visit. In his descent he was noble, enjoyed a lively old age, and upon his character was derived fresh glory from the withholding of his Province from him. As Pomponius Flaccus, Proprætor of Syria, died some time after, there arrived Letters from Tiberius. In them he complained, 'That all the Senators of distinguished name, and qualified to command Armies, refused that office; hence he was reduced to the necessity of entreaties, to engage some of the Consulars to undertake the rule of provinces.' He thought fit to forget Arruntius, Governor of Spain, already for ten years detained at Rome. The same year also died Marcus Lepidus, of whose wisdom and moderation I have in the former Books inserted abundant instances. Nor does it require more room here to display his nobility, since his

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race was that of the *Æmili*, a race fertile in good citizens ; and even those of the same family who lapsed into corruption, continued still to be distinguished by their illustrious dignities and fortune.

In the Consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius, after a long vicissitude of ages, the Phoenix arrived in *Ægypt*, and furnished the most learned of the natives and Greeks, with matter of large and various observations concerning that miraculous bird. The circumstances in which they agree, with many others, that, however disputed, deserve to be known, claim a recital here. That it is a creature sacred to the Sun, and, in the fashion of its head, and diversity of feathers, distinct from other birds, all, who have described its figure, are agreed ; about the length of its life, relations vary. It is by the vulgar tradition fixed at five hundred years : but there are those who extend it to one thousand four hundred and sixty one, and assert that the three former Phoenixes appeared in reigns greatly distant, the first under Sesostris, the next under Amasis ; and that one was seen under Ptolemy the third King of *Ægypt* of the Macedonian race, and flew to the City of Helio-*polis*, accompanied by a vast host of other birds gazing upon the wonderful stranger. But these are, in truth, the obscure accounts of antiquity : between Ptolemy and Tiberius the interval was shorter, not two hundred and fifty years ; hence some have believed that the present was a spurious Phoenix, and derived not its origin from the territories of Arabia, since it observed nothing of the instinct which ancient tradition attributes to the genuine ; for that the latter, having compleated his course of years, just before his death builds a nest in his native land, and upon it sheds generative power, from whence arises a young one, whose first care, when he is grown, is to bury his father ;

neither does he undertake it unadvisedly, but by collecting and fetching loads of myrrh, tries his strength in great journies; and as soon as he finds himself equal to the burden, and fit for the long flight, he rears upon his back his father's body, carries it quite to the altar of the Sun, and then flies away. These are uncertain tales, and their uncertainty heightened by fables; but that this bird has been sometimes seen in Ægypt, is not questioned.

At Rome, as the course of slaughter continued unrelenting, Pomponius Labeo, whom I have remembered to have been Governor of Mœsia, chose, by opening his veins, to let out his own blood; as, by his example, did his wife Paxea hers. Such efficacy had the terror of falling by the executioner, that, to escape him, deaths of this sort were readily undergone. Besides, that they who staid to be sentenced, forfeited their estates with their lives, and were debarred the rites of burial; of such, on the contrary, as anticipated condemnation, the bodies were interred, and their wills remained in force. The motive this, and price of dispatch! Tiberius, however, in a Letter to the Senate, argued, 'That it was the usage of our ancestors, 'when they would renounce friendship, to forbid 'the person obnoxious their house, and by it shut 'up all intercourse; a usage repeated by himself 'towards Labeo. Whereas Labeo, who was 'charged with male-administration, and other 'crimes, had now, by leaving upon the Prince 'the odium of his death, sought a veil to his own 'guilt, and thence falsely terrified his wife, to 'whom, however criminal, no punishment was 'meant.' Mamercus Scaurus was thereafter questioned afresh, a man of signal quality, a noble orator, but profligate liver. In his overthrow, the friendship of Sejanus had no share, but an engine

no less potent to destroy, the enmity of Macro, who pursued, but with more subtlety, the same depraved politics. He was furnished with a handle from a Tragedy composed by Scaurus, in which were some lines capable of being pointed against Tiberius. But by the accusers, Servilius and Cornelius, the crimes objected were those of 'adultery with Livia, and the mysteries of magic.' Scaurus, as became the magnanimity of the ancient *Æmilii*, prevented condemnation by the persuasion of Sextia his wife, who animated him to die, and died with him.

And yet the accusers, when opportunity occurred, were surrendered to vengeance, as were this same Servilius and Cornelius, men become famous by the doom of Scaurus; but for accepting from Varius Ligur a bribe to drop prosecution, they were interdicted fire and water, and exiled into different islands. Abudius Rufus too, once *Ædile*, whilst he brought a charge against *Len- tulus Getulicus*, under whom he had led a Legion, 'That he had espoused his daughter to a son of 'Sejanus,' was himself condemned and banished Rome. *Getulicus* was at this time Commander of the Legions in upper Germany, and by them wonderfully beloved, for his unbounded clemency, and discipline void of rigour. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, through his interest in *Lucius Apronius* his father-in-law. Hence he was universally believed to have, by a Letter, represented to the Emperor, 'That by 'no choice of his own had he joined affinity with 'Sejanus, but in compliance with the counsel of 'Tiberius, and was as liable as Tiberius to be 'deceived; nor ought one and the same error to 'pass unblamed in the Prince only, and upon all 'others draw down deadly vengeance. For his 'own faith; it was pure and inviolate, and, if

‘ against him no plots were framed, would continue unshaken. A successor he would receive as no other than the herald of death. It remained therefore, that between them two they should, as it were, establish a league, by which the Prince should still enjoy all the rest of the Empire, and he himself always retain his province.’ This proceeding, however amazing, derived credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to Sejanus, remained in safety, and even in high favour. Tiberius, indeed, considered himself under the pressure of public hatred, under the weight of extreme age; and that more by reputation than force his authority was upheld.

In the Consulship of Caius Sestius and Marcus Servilius, there came to Rome some noble Parthians, unknown to Artabanus their King. He had formerly, through dread of Germanicus, reigned with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his subjects with cruelty. His confidence grew from the successful wars which he had waged against the circumjacent nations, from his contempt of Tiberius, as enfeebled through age and unwarlike, and from a greedy passion to possess Armenia, over which Kingdom, upon the death of Artaxias, he established Arfaces his eldest son. This usurpation was followed by an insult, having sent to reclaim ‘ the treasure left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia,’ as also ‘ the re-establishment of the ancient boundaries between the Persians and Macedonians.’ He even threatened, in the fulness of vain-glory, ‘ That he would invade all the countries possessed by Cyrus, and since by Alexander.’ Of this secret embassy from the Parthians, the most powerful promoter was Sinaces, of a noble family, and correspondent wealth, and,

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and, next to him in authority, Abdus the Eunuch, a character no wise despised amongst the Barbarians, but even entrusted with power. These two, in concert with other Grandees, whom they had engaged in the combination, sent to Rome for Phrahates, son of King Phrahates; because, of all the race of the Arsacides, many being murdered by Artabanus, and the rest too young, none else remained to whom they could commit the State. The deputies represented, ‘ That there
‘ needed no more than a name and a leader, no
‘ more than a descendent of Arsaces espoused by
‘ Cæsar, and beheld upon the banks of the Eu-
‘ phrates.’

It was what Tiberius wished. He invested Phrahates in the pomp of Royalty, and dispatched him with military state to recover his father’s Monarchy; retaining however his old maxims, still to transact foreign affairs by artifice and counsels only, and warily avoid engaging in war. Artabanus the while having learnt the combination, was perplexed between different passions; now fear alarmed and retarded him, then thirst of revenge fired and excited him. By the Barbarians too, dissimulation and delay are reckoned servile measures; but instantly to satiate present passion, was the spirit and part of Royalty. Interest, however, prevailed: thus he invited Abdus to a banquet, and secured him by a lingering poison; Sinnaces he managed by presents and dissimulation, and engaged him in the entanglements of business. Now Phrahates arriving in Syria, and there disusing the Roman dress and œconomy, to which for so many years he had been inured, to resume the customs of the Parthians, proved unequal to the precipitate change, which brought a malady upon him that carried him off. But Tiberius forsook not the enterprize; to Artabanus he substituted

Tiridates, a fresh competitor, one of the same blood. For the recovery of Armenia, he chose Mithridates, and reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes, who inherited the sovereignty of Iberia; and over the East, for executing all his schemes there, he placed Lucius Vitellius. I am not unaware, that in Rome this man bore an evil estimation, and that many instances of depravity are related of him; yet in governing of Provinces he acted with primitive uprightness and virtue. It was after his return from thence, that his dread of Caligula, and then his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into such an odious slave, that he is reckoned to posterity as a pattern of the vile abasement and shocking deformities of flattery: his last character has swallowed up his first, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by an old age black with flagitious crimes.

Of the petty Kings, Mithridates was the first in motion, and incited Pharasmanes to promote, both by arms and snares, his efforts against Artaxata; so that instruments of subornation were found, who, with store of gold, urged his servants to murder him. At the same time, the Iberians broke into Armenia with numerous forces, and gained the chief City Artaxata. Upon the first tidings of these disasters, Artabanus dispatched, as the champion of his vengeance, his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian army, and sent abroad to hire auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on the other hand, joined the Albanian forces to his own, with additional aids from the Sarmatæans, whose Princes engaged themselves on both sides, according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in opposite quarrels. But the Iberians were masters of the passes, and thence poured the Sarmatæans over the Caspian Mountains into Armenia: whereas those that advanced to join the Parthians,

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thians, were with ease debarred entrance, the enemy having shut up every approach, except one between the sea and the uttermost mountains of Albania; and that one was stopped by the tide, which, by the force of the Etesian winds, is during the summer driven over the fords; but in the winter the south wind rolls back the flood, and exhibits a naked strand.

While Orodes was thus bereft of his Allies, Pharasmanes, strengthened with succours, provoked him to battle, and, as he declined it, insulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, harassed his forragers, and often begirt, as it were with a siege, the quarters of his camp. This enraged the Parthians, who, scorning the unwonted reproach, surrounded the Prince in crowds, and demanded the combat. Their only forces were in horse; but Pharasmanes was likewise powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit the rough forests, are thence more inured to hardness and patience. They say, 'that they are sprung from Thessaly, by the means of Jason, who, having carried away Medea, and had children by her, returned again to Colchos, upon the death of Æeta, and filled the vacant throne.' And many are the traditions which they retain concerning him and the Oracle of Phryxus, in reverence to which none of them will sacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe Phryxus to have been carried thither; whether the same were a ram, or only the sign of a ship. Now both armies being embattled, Orodes animated his men with 'the grandeur of the Parthian Empire, the Empire of the East, the lasting glory of the Arsacides; and, on the other side, the ignoble name of the Iberians and their hireling soldiery.' Pharasmanes represented to his,

his, that 'they had ever defended themselves from
' the usurpation of the Parthians, and now fought
' more than defence, even a Kingdom; hence
' the higher their aims, the more renown to the
' victors; but if they fled, the greater reproach,
' and the same peril.' He bade them to view and
compare their own horrid and threatening arms
with the bands of Medes blazing with gold, and
behold here the bravery of men, there that of
plunder.

With the Sarmatæans, however, the speech of
their General is not the only exhortation; it is
their way to animate one another. It was now
their united cry, 'That they must not begin their
' fight by a discharge of arrows, but break in at
' once upon the foe, and surprize them by a close
' engagement.' They did so; and hence began
a scene of battle strangely diversified: the Par-
thians, accustomed with equal dexterity to pursue
or fly, scattered their troops, thence seeking scope
for their arrows: the Sarmatæans intirely re-
nounced the bow, a weapon which they wield
with less vigour and perseverance, and rushed in
with their swords and pikes. Sometimes, as in an
encounter of horse, were beheld the vicissitudes of
charging and flying; again, as in condensed bat-
tles of foot, with the shocks of their bodies breast
to breast, and with the efforts of their arms, they
overthrew and were overthrown. Now the Alba-
nians and Iberians grappled the enemy, dragged
them from their horses, and confounded the attacks
of the Parthians; who, besides the assaults from
the horse, were still more closely galled by the foot.
Whilst, during this conflict, the two Generals
scoured from place to place, to countenance the
brave, or to support the wavering, themselves con-
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they encountered fiercely, horse to horse, with terrible cries and lances darted, but Pharasmanes with most violence, for he wounded Orodes thro' the helmet, but, hurried away by the velocity of his horse, could not repeat his blow, and the wounded Prince was rescued by the most resolute of his guards. Fame, however, falsely reported him for slain, and terrifying the Parthians, they yielded the victory.

Again Artabanus prepared for revenge, and, to make it sure, marched with the whole strength of Parthia; but was again beaten by the Iberians, through their superior knowledge of the country. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that Vitellius, by drawing together his Legions, and thence exciting a rumour, as if he were just upon invading Mesopotamia, alarmed him with the terror of war from the Romans. Armenia was therefore abandoned, and the affairs of Artabanus finally ruined; for Vitellius the while, prompted the Parthians 'to renounce a King cruel to his subjects 'in peace, and destructive to their state by his fatal wars.' Sinnaces therefore, whom I have mentioned as already incensed, consults his father Abdageses and others, who had hitherto disguised their disaffection, and finding them now emboldened by so many continued overthrows, draws them to an open revolt. To them flowed in, by little and little, all those who had been rather retained in obedience through fear, than secured by affection; and, having thus found leaders, assumed courage to follow them. So that to Artabanus none now adhered, except some few foreigners, the guards of his person, out-laws and fugitives from their several homes, destitute of all sentiments of honour, and of every worthy affection, equally untouched with public or private disgrace, hirelings by profession, and the retained instruments of villainy and blood.

blood. Taking these for his attendants, he hastily fled to regions far remote, and bordering upon Scythia, from thence hoping for succours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was joined in alliance. He expected too that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their Princes after expulsion, ever fickle and uneasy under those in possession, might lapse into remorse.

Artabanus being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclined to a new King, Vitellius exhorted Tiridates ‘to lay hold on a Kingdom prepared to receive him;’ and, with the bulk of the Legions and auxiliaries, marched to the banks of Euphrates. Whilst they sacrificed to the river, the one after the rites of the Romans, a swine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horse; the inhabitants informed them, ‘That the Euphrates, without any accession of rain, swelled miraculously, and that the white froth upon the surface wound itself into circles in the fashion of a diadem, as a propitious type of success after passing.’ Some explained it with more subtlety, ‘That the first attempts would be attended with immediate prosperity, but such as was fleeting and transient; for that only upon events portended by signs from the earth and the heavens, was there any sure reliance: rivers were, in their nature, fleeting and unstable; and what omens they suddenly shewed, they, with the same rapidity, snatched away.’ Over a bridge of boats the army crossed; and the first who arrived in the camp was Ornospadus with many thousand horse. He was formerly an exile, and had then, with no contemptible forces, aided Tiberius to finish the war in Dalmatia; a merit which procured him the right of a Roman Citizen: being afterwards recalled, he recovered the friendship of the King, and continued high in his favour; so that he was placed over all those territories which
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being washed on every side with the celebrated rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, are thence named Mesopotamia. Soon after came Sinnaces with more forces, as also Abdageses, the pillar of the party, with the King's treasure, and all the decorations of Royalty. Vitellius thought it enough to have countenanced them with a display of the Roman arms, and now admonished Tiridates and the chiefs, him 'to remember, that he had for 'his grand-father Phrahates, and was himself 'reared by Cæsar; signal honours, and equal incitements to glory:' upon them he pressed 'obedience to their King, and reverence towards us; 'that they would all consult their own reputations, 'and preserve their plighted faith.' Thence he repassed with his Legions into Syria.

These transactions, though the work of two campaigns, I have laid together, to relieve my soul from the sad recital of domestic evils. For, Tiberius, though now three years since the execution of Sejanus, was so far from being asswaged by time, supplications, and satiety of blood, means which are wont to soften all other men, that with rage and punishment he still pursued even stale and dubious imputations, as the most heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread Fulcinus Trio, unable to bear the prevailing persecution of his accusers, composed his last will, and in it compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives against Macro and the Emperor's principal freedmen: the Emperor himself he upbraided with 'a spirit sunk through age, and his continued absence, as a state of exile.' These invectives, which the heirs of Trio had smothered, were, by Tiberius, ordered to be recited; whether in ostentation that he could bear such liberties, and despised a public rehearsal of his own infamy;

famy ; or whether from having been long ignorant of the black enormities of Sejanus, he came afterwards to prefer the divulging of whatever was said, however said, concerning himself and his administration ; and since truth is ever disguised by flattery, he meant at least to learn it from the mouth of reproach. During the same Consuls, Granius Martianus the Senator, charged with treason by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands upon himself ; and Tattius Gratianus, who had been Prætor, under the same charge, was sentenced to capital banishment.

The like ends had Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus. For, Trebellienus fell by his own hand ; and Paconianus for Verses made in prison against the Emperor was there strangled. With these executions Tiberius was acquainted, not now separated from Italy by the sea, nor by messengers dispatched from afar, but in the neighbourhood of Rome ; so near to it that he received and answered the Letters from the Consuls the same day, or only after the interval of a night ; as if he were from thence beholding the houses floating in blood, or the busy hands of the executioners opening its sources. In the end of the year expired Poppæus Sabinus, of ordinary descent, but by the friendship of the Emperors he had acquired the Consulship and triumphal honours. He was also entrusted for four and twenty years with the Government of great provinces, for no signal ability of his, but that he had talents equal to business, and not above it.

The following Consuls were Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. It was marked as no matter of horror or surprize, that Lucius Aruseius and * * * underwent this year the pains of death ; so familiar were civil miseries grown. But terrifying proved

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proved the tragedy of Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman Knight, who, after his accusers had finished their pleadings, pulling out poison, which under his gown he had concealed, swallowed it in open Senate, and as he fell expiring, was by the Lictors hastily dragged to the dungeon, where, though already dead, his neck was fastened and strained in a rope. Not even Tigranes, who had some time reigned in Armenia, but was now accused, could by the name of a King, escape suffering, in common with citizens, the punishment of death. But Caius Galba a Consular, and the two Blæsi, fell by their own hands, Galba, upon receiving a dismal Letter from Cæsar, which forbid him to meddle with drawing his lot for a Province; the Blæsi, because the Priesthoods which in the prosperity of their family he had assigned them, and again in its calamity withheld, he now bestowed, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they understood as a signal of death, and obeyed it. Æmilia Lepida too, who, as I have related, was married to the young Drusus, she who had pursued her husband's life, by urging against him incessant crimes, and during the days of her father Lepidus, remained unpunished, though detestable, was after his death attacked by the accusers, for adultery with a slave: nor of this her infamous defilement was any doubt made; renouncing therefore all defence, she put an end to her own life.

About the same time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, aggrieved to be after the Roman manner brought under a rate, and compelled to pay tribute, betook themselves to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the situation defended themselves against the unwarlike forces of the King; till Vitellius, President of Syria, dispatched to their relief his Lieutenant Marcus Trebellius, with four thousand Legionary soldiers

foldiers and some chosen auxiliaries. Trebellius begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamped, the lesser named *Cadra*, the other *Davara*, and forced them all to surrender: some who attempted to sally, he subdued by the sword; the rest he overcame by thirst. Tiridates, with the approbation of the Parthians, took possession of Nicephorium, Anthemusias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence called by Greek names, as likewise of Halus and Artemita, Parthian cities; the inhabitants of each contending in joy for the change, as they all detested Artabanus, bred amongst the barbarous Scythians, and himself barbarously cruel, but from Tiridates hoped a humane spirit, civilized by a Roman education.

Particularly excessive was the flattery practised on this occasion by the citizens of Seleucia; a powerful city surrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous usages of the Parthians, but still retaining the institutions of Seleucus, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, chosen for wealth or wisdom, compose, as it were, a Senate; to the populace too remains their share of power; and when all act with unanimity, they despise the Parthians; but when discord reigns, while each side calls in foreign aid against their competitors, he who is invited prevails against the whole: A consequence which had befallen them in the reign of Artabanus, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure subservience to the maxims and interest of his own power. For the sovereignty of the People is an establishment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked lust of simple Monarchy. Upon the coming of Tiridates, they heaped on him all the honours paid to the ancient Kings, with all such as the present age has im-

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proved or invented, and to the praises of the new Prince added contumelies against Artabanus, 'that only by his father he was akin to the Arsacides, and in every other instance an apostate from their race.' Tiridates committed to the People the government of Seleucia. As he was next consulting about settling a day for solemnizing his inauguration, he received letters from Phrahares and Hiero, who presided over potent Provinces, entreating a short respite; so that he agreed to wait the arrival of men so signally powerful, and proceeded the while to Ctesiphon, the seat of the Empire. But as from day to day they delayed coming, the Surena in a great presence, and with their applauses, put the Royal Diadem, according to the ceremony of the country, upon his head.

And had he strait advanced into the center of the Kingdom and the further Provinces, he had overawed the suspense of such as halted, and found submission from all Parthia. But, by besieging a fortress, whither Artabanus had conveyed his money and mistresses, he furnished the fickle Parthians with leisure to violate their late association. For, Phrahares and Hiero, with such others as had not joined with the rest in celebrating his coronation, returned to their old allegiance, part through fear, some from envy to Abdageses, who then governed the new King and his whole court. They found Artabanus in Hyrcania, covered with nastiness and misery, and with his bow labouring for food. At first he was terrified, and apprehended treachery. When they assured him of their faith, and that to restore him to sovereignty they were come, he asked, 'whence the sudden change?' Hiero, in answer, reproached 'Tiridates as a boy, and that the Empire was no longer administered by one of the brave Arsacides; but a lad softened by foreign effeminacy, possessed the empty title, whilst

‘ whilst in the family of Abdageses the whole
‘ power remained.’

He discerned, politic as he was, and old in reigning, that, however false in their affections, their hate was unfeigned. Neither tarried he longer than to get together some Scythian succours, and then marched with dispatch, to frustrate the measures of his enemies, and to obviate the defection of his friends. Nor changed he yet his noisy dress, as by it he meant to draw the commiseration of the Populace. In his march he left untried no expedient, no prayers nor wiles, to engage in his interest such as wavered, to confirm such as adhered, and he was already in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, before Tiridates, dismayed at once with the tidings of Artabanus, and with Artabanus in person, could determine, whether to make head against him, or protract the war. His counsels were distracted. They who preferred a battle and speedy issue, argued, ‘ that the enemy’s forces were still in disarray and spent with
‘ long journeys : nor in truth were they in their
‘ hearts sincerely reconciled to obedience ; they,
‘ who were lately the betrayers and open enemies
‘ of that same Prince whom thus, after expulsion,
‘ they espoused.’ But Abdageses advised ‘ a retreat into Mesopotamia, that there, defended by
‘ the interposition of the river, they might have
‘ time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans,
‘ with other adjacent nations ; and, being thus
‘ strengthened by confederate troops, and such as
‘ the Roman general should send, might try with
‘ these advantages the fortune of war.’ This advice prevailed, as Abdageses held the highest authority, and Tiridates was fearful of dangers. But their departure had all the appearance and consequences of a rout : for the Arabs beginning the desertion, the rest followed, and retired to their
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several homes, or to the camp of Artabanus; so that Tiridates with a few crossed over to Syria, where he discharged them all, as well from his service, as from the infamy of being betrayed by them.

The same year the City suffered the grievous calamity of fire, which burnt down that part of the Circus contiguous to Mount Aventine, and the Mount itself; a loss which turned to the glory of the Prince, as he paid in money the value of the houses destroyed. A hundred thousand great sesterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever sparing in private buildings. In truth, his public works never exceeded two, the Temple of Augustus and the Scene of Pompey's Theatre; nor, when he had finished both, did he dedicate either, whether obstructed by old age, or despising popularity. For ascertaining the damage of particulars, the four sons-in-law of Tiberius were appointed, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus, assisted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the Consuls. To the Emperor likewise were decreed several honours, variously devised, according to the different drift and genius of such as proposed them. Which of these he meant to accept, or which to reject, the approaching issue of his days has buried in uncertainty. For not long after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius commenced Consuls, the last Consuls under Tiberius. The power of Macro was already excessive, who, as he had at no time neglected the favour of Caligula, courted it now more and more earnestly every day. After the death of Claudia, whom I have mentioned to have been espoused to the young Prince, he constrained Ennia his own wife to stimulate the affections of Caligula, and

to secure him by a promise of marriage. The truth is, Caligula was one that denied nothing that opened his way to sovereignty; for although of a tempestuous genius, he had yet in the school of his grand-father, well acquired all the hollow guises of dissimulation.

His spirit was known to the Emperor; hence the Emperor was puzzled about bequeathing the Empire: and first as to his grand-sons; the son of Drusus was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child; the son of Germanicus had arrived at the vigour of youth, and the zeal of the people followed him; a motive to his grand-father, only to hate him. He had even debates with himself concerning Claudius, because of solid age, and naturally inclined to honest pursuits; but the defect of his faculties withstood the choice. In case he sought a successor apart from his own family, he dreaded lest the memory of Augustus, lest the name of the Cæsars should come to be scorned and insulted. For, it was not so much any study of his, to gratify the present generation, and secure the Roman State, as to perpetuate to posterity the grandeur of his race. So that his mind still wavering, and his strength decaying, to the decision of fortune he permitted a counsel to which he was now unequal. Yet he dropped certain words whence might be gathered, that he foresaw the events and revolutions which were to come to pass after him; for, he upbraided Macro, by no dark riddle, ‘that he forsook the setting sun, and courted the rising;’ and of Caligula, who upon some occasional discourse ridiculed Sylla, he foretold, ‘that he would have all Sylla’s vices, and not one of his virtues.’ Moreover, as he was, with many tears, embracing the younger of his grandsons, and perceived the countenance of Caligula

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Caligula implacable and provoked; 'Thou, said he, wilt slay him, and another shall slay thee.' But, however his illness prevailed, he relinquished nothing of his vile voluptuousness, forcing patience, and feigning health. He was wont too to ridicule the prescriptions of Physicians, and all men who, after the age of thirty, needed to be informed by any one else, what helped or hurted their constitutions.

At Rome, the while, were sown the sanguinary seeds of executions, to be perpetrated even after Tiberius. Lælius Balbus had charged Acutia, (the wife formerly of Publius Vitellius) with high treason; and, as the Senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuser, the same was obstructed by the interposition of Junius Otho, Tribune of the people: Hence their mutual hate, which ended in the exile of Otho. Thereafter Albucilla, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, him that revealed the conspiracy of Sejanus, and herself famous for many amours, was impeached of impious rites devised against the Prince. In the charge were involved, as her associates and adulterers, Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marfus, and Lucius Arruntius. The noble descent of Domitius I have above declared: Marfus too was distinguished by the ancient dignities in his house, and himself illustrious for learning. The Minutes, however, transmitted to the Senate, imported, 'that in the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the slaves, Macro had presided; neither came these Minutes accompanied with any letter from the Emperor against the accused: Hence it was suspected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privity, the accusations were in great measure forged by Macro, in consequence of his notorious enmity to Arruntius.'

Domitius therefore, by preparing for his defence, and Marſus, by ſeeming determined to ſamiſh, both protracted their lives. Arruntius choſe to die; and to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evaſions, he answered, ‘ that the
 ‘ ſame meaſures were not alike honourable to all
 ‘ men; his own life was abundantly long; nor
 ‘ had he wherewithal to reproach himſelf, ſave
 ‘ that he had ſubmitted to bear thus far an old age
 ‘ loaded with anxieties, expoſed to daily dangers,
 ‘ and the cruel ſport of power; long hated as he
 ‘ was by Sejanus, now by Macro, always by ſome
 ‘ reigning Miniſter; hated through no fault of
 ‘ his own, but as one irreconcilable to baſeneſs
 ‘ and the iniquities of power. He might, in truth,
 ‘ out-live and avoid the few and laſt days of Ti-
 ‘ berius; but how eſcape the youth of his heir?
 ‘ If upon Tiberius at ſuch an age, and after ſuch
 ‘ conſummate experience, the violent ſpirit of un-
 ‘ bridled dominion had wrought with ſuch effica-
 ‘ cy, as intirely to tranſport and change him;
 ‘ was it likely that Caligula, he who had ſcarce
 ‘ outgrown his childhood, a youth ignorant of all
 ‘ things, or nurſt and principled in the worſt,
 ‘ would follow a courſe more righteous under the
 ‘ guidance of Macro; the ſame Macro, who, for
 ‘ deſtroying Sejanus, was employed as the more
 ‘ wicked of the two, and had ſince by more miſ-
 ‘ chiefs and cruelties torn and afflicted the Com-
 ‘ monweal? For himſelf; he foreſaw a ſervitude
 ‘ yet more vehement, and therefore withdrew at
 ‘ once from the agonies of paſt and of impending
 ‘ tyranny.’ Uttering theſe words, with the ſpirit
 of a prophet, he opened his veins. How wiſely
 Arruntius anticipated death, the following times
 will terribly demonſtrate. For Albucilla; ſhe
 aimed at her own life, but the blow being impo-
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tent, she was by order of Senate dragged to execution in the prison. Against the ministers of her lusts it was decreed, ' that Grasidius Sacerdos, ' formerly Prætor, should be exiled into an island, ' Pontius Fregellanus be degraded from the Senate; and that upon Lælius Balbus the same penalty should be inflicted: his punishment particularly proved matter of joy, as he was accounted ' a man of pestilent eloquence, and prompt to attack the innocent.'

About the same time, Sextus Papinius, of a Consular family, chose on a sudden a frightful end, by a desperate and precipitate fall. The cause was ascribed to his mother, who, after many repulses, had, by various allurements and the stimulations of sensuality, urged him to practices and embarrassments from whence only by dying he could devise an issue. She was therefore accused in the Senate; and, though in a prostrate posture she embraced the knees of the Fathers, and pleaded ' the tenderness and grief of a mother, with the imbecility of a woman's spirit under such an affecting calamity;' with other motives of pity in the same doleful strain, she was banished Rome for ten years, till her younger son were past the age of lubricity.

As to Tiberius; already his body, already his spirits failed him; but his dissimulation failed him not. He exerted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in his looks and discourse, and even sometimes studied to be gay, by it to hide his declension, however notorious. So that, after much shifting of places, he settled at the Promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which Lucullus was once lord. There it was discovered that his end was at hand, by this device. In his train was a Physician, his name Charicles, signal in his profession, one, in truth, not employed to direct the Prince's health;

but wont however to afford his counsel and skill. Charicles, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, under the appearance of paying duty and kissing his hands, touched his pulse. But the artifice beguiled not Tiberius, for he instantly ordered the entertainment to be served up, whether incensed, and thence the more smothering his wrath, is uncertain. But, at table he continued beyond his wont, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend. But for all this, Charicles satisfied Macro, ' that the flame of life was ' expiring, and could not outlast two days.' Hence the whole court was filled with close consultations, and expresses were dispatched to the Generals and Armies. On the sixteenth of March, so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have paid the last debt of mortality ; insomuch that Caligula, in the midst of a great throng, paying their congratulations, was already appearing abroad, to assume the first offices of Sovereignty, when sudden notice came, ' that Tiberius had recovered his ' sight and voice, and, to strengthen his fainting ' spirits, had called for some refreshment.' Hence dread seized all, and the whole concourse about Caligula dispersed, every man assuming false sorrow, or feigning ignorance. He himself was struck speechless, and thus fallen from the highest hopes, waited for present death. Macro continued undismayed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, caused the feeble old man to be smothered with a weight of coverings. Thus expired Tiberius in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

He was the son of Nero, and on both sides a branch of the Claudian house, though his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian stock. From his first infancy, his life was checquered by various turns and perils. For, then he followed, like an exile, his proscribed

proscribed father; and when taken in quality of a step-son into the family of Augustus, he long struggled there with many potent rivals, during the lives of Marcellus and Agrippa, next of the young Cæsars, Caius and Lucius. His brother Drusus too eclipsed him, and possessed more eminently the hearts of the Roman people. But above all, his marriage with Julia most egregiously threatened and distressed him, whether he bore the prostitutions of his wife, or relinquished the daughter of Augustus. Upon his return there-after from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the Prince's family, now bereft of heirs, and nine three and twenty ruled the Roman State. His manners also varied with the several junctures of his fortune: he was well esteemed while yet a private man, and, in discharging public dignities under Augustus, of signal reputation; covert and subdolous in feigning virtue so long as Germanicus and Drusus survived; a mixed character of good and evil during the days of his mother; detestably cruel, but secret in his lewdness, while he loved or feared Sejanus. At last he abandoned himself, at once, to the rage of tyranny and the sway of his lusts: for, he had then conquered all the checks of shame and fear, and thenceforth followed only the bent of his own abominable spirit.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

